MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

December · 1953

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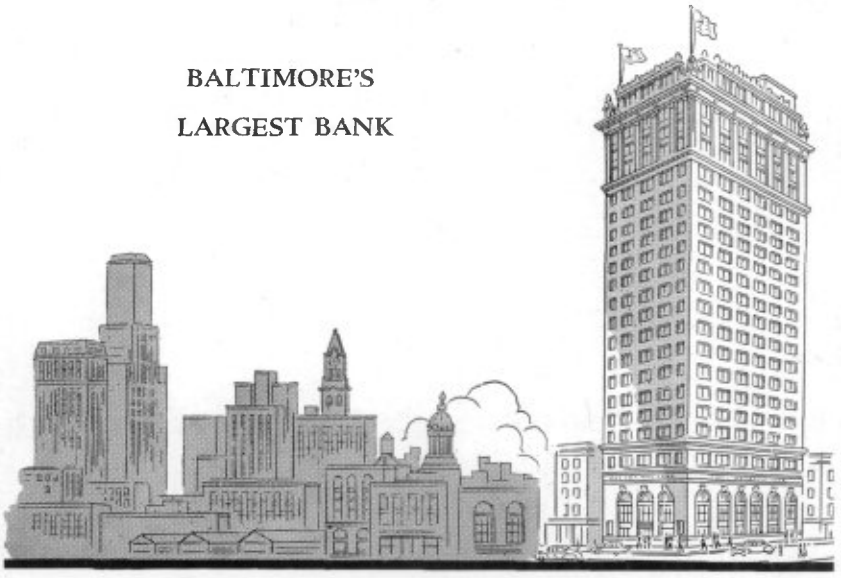

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CONTENTS

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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes,* a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State, and other serial and special publications.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes,* is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15,* daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVIII DECEMBER, 1953 Number 4

SIDELIGHTS ON THE FOUNDING OF THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

By ALFRED R. JAMES [1]

THE Maryland Historical Society recently acquired twenty-one documents which cast new light on the pre-construction era of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[2] Two other manuscripts, received in the same group, show the service of the B & O to the Union cause in 1864. The early documents are dated 1827-1830 and form a very rare and valuable addition to the Society's me-

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the staffs of the following institutions for assistance in the preparation of this article: The Maryland Historical Society, the B. & O. Research Library, the Peabody Institute Library, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Johns Hopkins University Library, and the Science Museum of London.

[2] A description of the documents and the story of their acquisition appears in *Maryland History Notes,* 10 (November, 1952). Mr. and Mrs. Laurence W. Moltz, of Baltimore, generously presented documents numbered 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 in this article. The remainder were purchased by the Society with the aid of a generous contribution by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Thanks are due Mr. James A. Gary, Jr., for information that led to the acquisition of the papers.

morabilia concerning Maryland's transportation revolution.[3] Together with the James P. Stabler Papers, already acquired, these papers set forth in a revealing manner the early history of a Baltimore-sponsored enterprise which pioneered a practically unknown type of internal improvement—one which regenerated the dwindling trade of a great seaport.[4]

The papers are letters and reports written by various early officials of the Railroad to its first President, Philip Evan Thomas [5] or to its Board of Directors, or were written by persons who desired to bring to the Railroad's attention certain inventions or original methods pertaining to the construction of the road. Considering the fact that no railroad for the transportation of people or general freight had yet been built in this country and only one abroad, in England, it is amazing that so much thought had been given to the subject, not only by the promoters of the road but by others who had learned of its proposed construction and the route to be adopted.

Within the narrow limits of the scientific knowledge of railroads in that era, these papers reflect a surprising vision of the difficulties to be met and overcome and boldly set forth or clearly suggest the means by which to accomplish certain tasks. As a matter of fact, some of the suggestions offered in these letters, amateurish as they may appear today, contained the incipient ideas from which have developed some of the most modern machinery of this later and more highly technical age.

When William Howitt said in 1846, "It is wonderful what an imperceptible change comes over our ideas as things gradually grow out of nothing into reality," the import of Thomas Gray's 1826 treatise on *A General Railway System* had somehow faded, and the credit for his ideas, which were indeed very original and practicable, was given to those who had been exceedingly critical of his work and strong in their condemnation of his "visionary" themes. Of course, there were no railroads in 1826 to write about,

[3] Several of the documents were displayed by the Maryland Historical Society in June and July, 1953, coinciding with the opening of the B. & O. Railroad Transportation Museum.

[4] The standard history of the Railroad is Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1927* (New York, 1928). See also Milton Reizenstein, *Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (1827-1853)* (Baltimore, 1897), Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV.

[5] Thomas (1776-1861) served as president of the B. & O. from 1827 until 1836. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVIII, 442-443.

but Thomas Gray visualized them and from his home in Nottingham, England, he strongly advocated their general use in all parts of the island to supersede canal boats and " stage-wagons " for the transport of people and goods. He was regarded as a dreamer and an intolerable bore. But in 1846, only twenty years later, railroads with locomotives having wagons attached, just as Gray had visualized them, had been built and many more projected, but the credit for their origin and later construction was given to other and less brilliant minds.[6]

Shortly before the publication of Thomas Gray's treatise in 1826, the Pennsylvania Society for Internal Improvements in the Commonwealth, had sent young William Strickland, an engineer and architect, to England with instructions to find out all that he could about " these railroads " and their locomotives, the fame of which was then being heard across the Atlantic.[7] His report to the Pennsylvania Society, together with the inclusive reports of other engineers such as W. Jessop, and the 1825 *Practical Treatise on Railroads* by Nicholas Wood represented the sole railroad text-books of that era.

Thus when the committee of citizens of Baltimore City met on February 19, 1827, at George Brown's residence to discuss railroads, their construction, and their advantages over canals and turnpikes, its members were treading on unknown ground, as Mr. Thomas said later, so far as any knowledge of railroads was concerned. The information available in studies by Wood, Strickland, and Jessop had been gained in the operation of tram-roads and crude types of railroads in the coal mining regions, both here and in England, and to some extent, in the design and construction of the turnpikes and canals which, at that time, were handling the bulk of whatever commodity haulage existed on a larger scale than pack-horses and river arks.[8]

[6] Howitt thought it about time to correct this injustice and did, forthwith, in the *People's Journal,* London, in a quite lengthy article from which the quotation given above is taken.

[7] R. S. Henry, *This Fascinating Railroad Business* (Indianapolis, 1942), p. 28.

[8] " The world is indebted to Oliver Evans . . . for the discovery of their [railway's] latent and hitherto unsuspected value and pre-eminent importance. . . . He foresaw the superiority, and strenuously urged the adoption of Rail-ways . . . long before it had entered into the imagination of any other human being," Nicholas Wood, *A Practical Treatise on Rail-Roads* (Philadelphia, 1832), p. vii. He is credited with making the first high-pressure steam engine used in this country, steam carriages to travel the highways and streets, the mill machinery used by the Ellicott's on the Patapsco, and a steam dredge that was propelled both on land and water

A quarter of a century later Philip Thomas said: [9]

To the citizens of Baltimore belongs the honor of being the first in the Union to organize an association, and obtain a charter, for the construction of a Rail-Road adapted to general travel and transportation. At the time, little was known, either as regarded the construction of railways, or the application of moving power upon them, and we had everything to learn, with but few lights to guide us. It was therefore foreseen at the very commencement of this work, that its progress would be retarded by many difficulties; these have, however, been overcome, and there is no doubt the most sanguine anticipations of its progress will be realized. . . .

It is amazing how quickly these pioneers in the city of Baltimore in the year 1827, reacted to developments then in progress. How many are there today who would, even in the light of modern science and invention, embark on a plan of such magnitude equipped with so little expert knowledge of their task, using for their purposes new and untried methods, experimenting step by step as they progressed toward their distant goal? Find such men and there will be revealed a pioneering spirit fully comparable to that possessed by the 1827 founders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.[10]

It should not be assumed that a lack of knowledge concerning railroad construction and the operational problems of the pre-construction era of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, denoted also a lack of inventive genius in the field of engineering or its allied sciences. The "mighty power of Steam," the force of compressed air, the resultant action of the lever [11] and the laws gov-

[9] P. E. Thomas to President and Directors of the B. & O., January 4 (?), 1853, in W. P. Smith, *A History and Description of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road* (Baltimore, 1853), pp. 180-181.

[10] There were, of course, many who opposed the railroad for various, and sometimes personal, reasons. Among the more prominent critics was Thomas De Quincy who, in 1849, called the locomotives of the day "tea-kettles," and insisted that the "modern" modes of travel could not compare with the old mail-coach system in "grandeur and power."

On the other hand, Macaulay in speaking of the opposition brought by the capitalists of Manchester, England, against the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, asserted that they owed their fortunes to steam, but could not appreciate the idea of its use in transportation. "There were fools then as there are fools now; fools who laughed at railways as they laughed at canals; fools who evinced their wisdom by doubting what they could not understand."

Today we find, for reasons of efficiency, that the diesel locomotive has almost entirely supplanted the reciprocating steam locomotive. Presumably De Quincy would now argue that again efficiency has replaced romance, but Macaulay would surely call us fools if we agreed. (See Baltimore *Evening Sun* of November 3, 1953, for story about last steam locomotive to leave Camden Station.)

[11] "Give me where to stand, and I'll move the earth"—Archimedes.

erning the forces of gravity were fairly well known and were actually included in a manuscript entitled "A Century of Invention," written by the Marquis of Worcester while he was confined in the Tower of London during the Cromwell regime. An edition of this manuscript was published in 1825 by Parkington who "fully demonstrated not only the practicability of applying the major part of the hundred inventions there described, but the absolute application of many of them, though under other names, to some of the most useful purposes of life." [12]

Among the major inventions of the years 1800-1831 were Volta's Electric Battery; Trevithick's Steam-coach (the first automobile); Trevithick's, Bleckinsop's Hadley's, Stephenson's, Hackworth's, and Ericsson's locomotives; Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, which ran between New York and Albany; Davy's safety lamp; Brunel's patent tunnels, underground and submarine; Faraday's conversion of mechanical energy into electrical energy and Henry's invention of the spool-magnet, and other inventions or discoveries of an allied nature, not forgetting the construction of the Quincy, Mass., Granite Railway in 1826, and the Mauch Chunk, Penn., incline railroad, opened in 1827.

It is quite evident from a review of this array of inventions and discoveries—and there were others—that many of them pertained to the development of the science of engineering and to railroads in particular. The founding fathers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad undoubtedly had a knowledge of these inventions available to them either through their engineering advisors, or through their own familiarity with the technology of the period. The ready application of these new inventions and discoveries was not immediately possible, due to the lack of a technical skill that comes only with experience and to the absence of tools not yet made with which to produce and apply these inventions in a practical manner.

While it is not necessary to reiterate the history of the city of Baltimore or of the Railroad, we should recall some of the scenes with which the stage was set when the letters under consideration were written. New York had completed its Erie Canal in 1825 from Albany to Buffalo on Lake Erie. Pennsylvania was developing a system of internal improvements (to consist of alternate canals and level railroads with inclined planes used in the moun-

[12] John Timbs, *Inventors and Discoverers* (London, 1840), p. 107.

tains and at the Schuylkill and Susquehanna river terminals) to extend from Philadelphia to the Ohio River at Pittsburgh. Both of these enterprises sought, of course, to develop the trade of the interior, all of the way to the Mississippi Valley, and all that the city of Baltimore could offer in competition was the National Road, a Federally-sponsored project, running from Cumberland to Wheeling—which was reached in 1817. It was a fine highway for those days, reaching Baltimore from its terminus at Cumberland via Hagerstown and Frederick, over the Frederick Pike, now U. S. Route 40. But in competition with the proposed plans and already completed enterprises of the neighboring states, this road would soon become not only of little use but obsolescent as a medium of mass transportation. The vast produce of the mines and farms of the interior then seeking a way to the great seaport of Baltimore and the ever-increasing return trade of manufactured goods to the West, would go elsewhere.[13]

The Potomac River had long been a highway for water transportation, of a sort, and while the products of agriculture furnished much traffic, coal gradually appeared as its market developed and the iron and timber of the Valley contributed their share. Maryland had been aware of the advantages to be gained by various proposed systems of internal improvements, but those connected with the Potomac River were estimated to be of little benefit to its metropolis, favoring rather the newly established city of Washington. Following the insolvency of the Potomac Company, an organization chartered in 1785 by both Maryland and Virginia to improve the navigation of the river, a canal, separate from the river was proposed. This ultimately led to the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Baltimoreans of 1825-1826 pondered the possibilities of this canal and one of Baltimore's chief citizens, Philip E. Thomas, was made the commissioner representing the state in the canal company. But the answer, as Thomas and others so strongly felt and foresaw—was not in a canal, especially one that led to a terminus forty miles away from their city.

Philip Thomas as a matter of fact had little faith in any canal as an aid to the commerce of Baltimore and sought for other solutions to the problem of increasing its dwindling trade. His brother, Evan Thomas, in 1826, had visited the coal mining re-

[13] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 14.

gions of England and observed the crude attempts there to haul the coal to market. He also rendered a report on a newly built railroad over there, the Stockton and Darlington, opened in 1825. It was a product of the industrial revolution then happening in that island and one of the first enterprises of its kind. No one could be blamed at that early period for an inability to foresee how the railroad would eventually revolutionize industry and commerce.

In 1826, outside of the tram roads at the mines, not a mile of railroad had been constructed in the United States. In 1830, only 23 miles had been completed but by 1840 there were some 2,800 miles completed and in operation, an amazing demonstration, both of physical effort and of increasing confidence in the railroad, in this decade of doubt and uncertainty. The newspapers and periodicals of the time gave little space to the encouragement of such bold venturing.[14]

At the citizens' meeting of February 12, 1827, William Patterson, father of the famous Baltimore belle "Betsy" Patterson, was appointed Chairman and David Winchester, Secretary. Along with Philip Thomas and George Brown, the personal interest of these citizens in the future railroad was due to their great faith in the growth of the city itself. Patterson,[15] of Scotch-Irish parentage, came to Baltimore in 1778, after accumulating a small fortune trading with France and furnishing much-needed military supplies to General Washington's armies. He invested heavily in property in and near the City, and in 1804 Thomas Jefferson said he was probably the richest man in the United States next to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[16] Patterson firmly believed that Baltimore would eventually become one of the chief cities of the world.

David Winchester (1771-1835), while not so well known as Patterson, nor as wealthy, carried on an extensive insurance business in the City, and also invested heavily in real estate, not only in Baltimore, but also in the present Carroll County near West-

[14] *Niles Register,* a Baltimore publication, apologized as follows in 1830: "It is complained of by persons at a distance that too much room in some of the Baltimore papers is given to accounts of railroad, engines and cars. We have endeavored to avoid an excess in this respect, but new and important interests almost daily present themselves. . . ."

[15] (1752-1835); see *D. A. B.,* XIV, 309-310.

[16] Jefferson to R. R. Livingston, Nov. 4, 1803, in P. L. Ford (ed.), *Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1905), X, 49.

minster. The confidence of these men in the City's future greatly inspired those other citizens who had attended this meeting, and they were rightly appointed to head the deliberations and the preparation of the reports and resolutions decided upon at that time.

At this first meeting documents and statements relating to the efficiency of railroads, for conveying quantities of bulky articles at small expense, were examined.[17] It was then resolved to refer these documents to a committee to be composed of Philip E. Thomas, Benjamin C. Howard, George Brown, Talbot Jones, Joseph W. Patterson, Evan Thomas (brother of Philip), and John V. L. McMahon, and to contribute respectively $10.00 to a fund to be placed under the control of this committee for such " purposes as circumstances may render necessary."

At a meeting one week later, February 19, the committee discussed the reports and treatises of the best engineers of that day and also, no doubt, though not so specifically stated, the famous *Documents* written in 1812 by Colonel John Stevens[18] which tended to prove the superiority of " Railway and Steam Carriages " over canals. The *Documents*, however, while advocating a railroad from Albany to the Great Lakes, were written before the good Colonel had ever seen a railroad and very few people in the U. S. had ever heard of one by that name, and certainly, a few years before George Stephenson had built one in England. Stevens' idea came in for ridicule from all sides. Naturally he was very much discouraged, but his faith in the practicability of railroads did not waver in the face of such criticism which was both journalistic and political alike. In order to demonstrate the practicability of a steam-operated railroad (by then George Stephenson had built and operated locomotives in England), he built, in 1825, the first locomotive in the U. S. and operated it around a circular track at Hoboken, N. J. This " Steam-Waggon " proved his point. He has since been called the " Father of Railroads " in the United States.[19]

[17] *Proceedings of Sundry Citizens of Baltimore, Convened for the Purpose of Devising the Most Efficient Means of Improving the Intercourse Between That City and the Western States* (Baltimore, 1827).

[18] *Documents Tending to Prove the Superior Advantages of Rail-ways and Steam-carriages over Canal Navigation.* For information concerning Stevens (1749-1838), see *D. A. B.*, XVII, 614-616.

[19] J. T. Cunningham, *Railroading in New Jersey* (New York, 1941).

However arrived at specifically, it remains a fact that from the deliberations of this committee, there emanated a recommendation that " measures be taken to construct a double railroad between the City of Baltimore and some suitable point on the Ohio River, by the most eligible and direct route, and that a charter to incorporate a Company to execute this work be obtained as early as possible. . . ." Various types of construction and detailed estimates of construction costs were discussed and pondered at length, as were possible revenues and costs of operation. British railroads, then either in operation or projected, or in process of construction, had a decided influence on the committee's decisions and these operations were of such importance that in 1828 the engineers, Knight, Whistler, and O'Neill were sent to Manchester, England, to make a report on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, then being constructed under the supervision of George Stephenson. He was in charge not only of the building of the railway but of the locomotive power as well.

On February 28, 1827, the act which formally sanctioned the incorporation of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road was passed by the Maryland legislature. The company itself was formally incorporated on April 24, 1827, with Philip E. Thomas as President, George Brown as Treasurer, and a distinguished list of Directors.[20] Virginia confirmed the charter on March 8, 1827, and Pennsylvania on February 22, 1828.[21]

One of the first acts of the President and Board of Directors, after the organization of the road was effected, was that of selecting engineers to make the surveys and prepare maps and estimates of cost. From these data a route would then be selected. Also a suitable man had to be selected for the construction of the road along the route. The first Annual Report of the road was signed by President Thomas under the date of October 1,

[20] By 1835, only eight years after the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad charter had been in force, more than 200 other railroad charters had been granted in eleven states, ten of which were on the eastern seaboard. Six of these early charters were in Louisiana, which state was not to be outdone in this race to obtain a new form of transportation, although somewhat far removed from any trade connected with the other states. But all six of these Louisiana roads were built. whereas only a small number of the other 200 were actually constructed and of those that were, not many survived for any length of time. Nevertheless, many of these small roads were the beginnings of some of the great railway systems of today.

[21] *Catalogue of the Centenary of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 11.

1827.[22] This was probably the first Annual Report ever written or published in this country by a railroad company. It dealt with discussions on the location of the road, types of motive power, securing of "reliable" engineers from the U. S. Government which at that time had about the only trained men for this particular service in its engineering corps and who were supplied by the government with great liberality.

Most of the engineers who were selected to make the first surveys for the railroad and who located the original line and planned many of its earliest structures came from this corps. The science of civil engineering then, as now, included a knowledge of mathematics of a very high order which was essential to the theory of railroad location and construction. Hence the necessity of securing only those who were trained in this science. Col. Stephen H. Long [23] (see Letter No. 5), a graduate of Dartmouth in 1809, was secured at once from the Army. Incidentally, he was engaged in the construction of many of the early railroads, was especially successful in the construction of early bridges, and secured a patent on a particular design known as the "Jackson Bridge." In 1829 he published the *Railroad Manual* which greatly simplified calculations made in field surveys.

The first civilian engineer employed by the railroad was Jonathan Knight [24]—who like Philip Thomas and many others among the founders was a Quaker. He was experienced in highway construction, particularly in the construction of the National Road. He brought with him his assistant, another Quaker, Casper Wever (see Letter No. 9), who became the railroad's first Superintendent of Construction.[25] Long and Knight were chosen to make the preliminary surveys. They knew little about what a railroad was, or should be, but, like their employers, they were men of great energy and ability.[26]

Among other engineers who were chosen at that time or who came along shortly after were Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) William G. McNeill [27] and Captain George Washington Whistler,[28] father of the well-known artist.

[22] Baltimore *North American,* Oct. 13, 1827.
[23] (1784-1864); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 380.
[24] (1787-1858); see *D. A. B.*, X, 167.
[25] Olive Dennis, "Mathematics Runs the Railroads," MS, B. & O. Research Library.
[26] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 32.
[27] (1801-1853); see *D. A. B.*, XII, 152-153.
[28] (1800-1849); see *D. A. B.*, XX, 72-73.

In President Thomas' first annual report of October 1, 1827, it is mentioned that surveys were in progress from Harpers Ferry to the Ohio River, so there must have been quick action on the part of these engineers to have finally located the first division of thirteen miles from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills in time for a construction start on July 4, 1828, and to have other surveys progressing in the fall and winter of 1827-1828.

The second Annual Report (1827-1828) is partly a pre-construction report.[29] It emanated from the "Engineer's Office" and is signed by Jonathan Knight and Colonel Long "of the Board of Engineers," indicating the early formation of an inter-organization to handle all matters concerning engineering and construction on the new railroad. A map included in the report shows the divisional sections and the general topography of the country along the stretch of the road. The personnel of the "Corps of Surveyors" is also given and the nature of the surveys made by the corps. The map indicates the best route to follow and why it was selected. Branches and sidings are also indicated.

Surveys to and including the proposed inclined planes at "Parr's Spring Ridge" are delineated with bridges shown where needed, also quarries where stone might be obtained. It is interesting to note that "high and expensive viaducts" would be needed "at the crossings over Gwynn's Falls, Davis Run, and at the Patapsco River." Richard Caton was furnishing stone free from his quarry. The writers complain that the workmen are very inexperienced and that there are no treatises or textbooks on the subject of costs where curves are encountered in the road-bed. Costs and estimates of expenditures were being studied for various types of track construction with comparisons of stone or wood track supports.

So we turn now to the consideration of the acquired letters, with a better understanding, perhaps, of their true significance respecting the "railroad" about which so little was known.

Railroads in Massachusetts

Letter, Abbott Lawrence to Orson Kellogg, February 20, 1827 [No. 1].

This letter was written from Boston in reply to one from Kellogg,[30] dated February 14, 1827, just two days after the first

[29] Copy in B. & O. Research Library.

[30] Kellogg is listed in the 1833 city directory as "merchant, dw[elling] Camden st near Sharp."

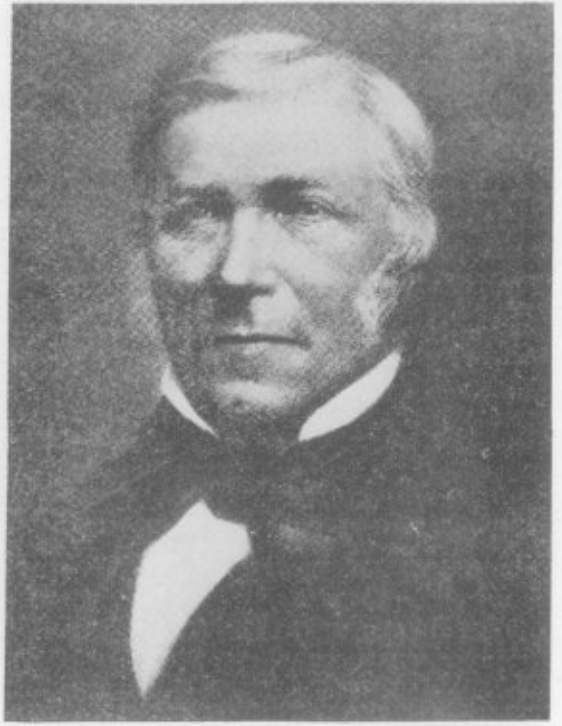
meeting of the citizens of Baltimore City, which, as already noted, occurred on February 12, 1827. It is, therefore, highly probable that this letter is among the earliest extant, relating to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as a specific, and not a visionary, project.

Kellogg and Lawrence,[31] were both well-known citizens in their respective communities. Kellogg sought an opinion on the construction possibilities of this railroad from one of the very few men known to be in possession of certain data concerning railroads which at that time were either already constructed or were being promoted. Lawrence, one of Boston's leading merchants, was also a promoter of railroads in Massachusetts, which at that time had actually built but one railroad, the Quincy or Granite tram-road, which was constructed for the purpose of hauling blocks of granite for the Bunker Hill Monument from the quarries at Quincy to the Neponset River, a distance of about three miles. This road is more completely described in Letter No. 5 but is mentioned here since Lawrence referred to it in his reply and enclosed drawings of its construction.

He also expressed himself as a firm advocate of the use of railroads instead of canals for the transportation of commodities in that section of the country. This opinion, however, was not based on an operational comparison of these works, since only two canals, then under construction, existed in Massachusetts, and the Quincy was the only railroad in operation in that state. It is more probable that he drew his conclusions from the operations of the Erie Canal, which had been completed just two years previously (1825), and on the construction and operation of an early English railroad—the Stockton and Darlington—then running practically on an experimental basis. It also had been opened in 1825. Horses were used the first few years of its operation for the transportation of passengers. From the beginning crude colliery locomotives were used for hauling freight. It was 1829 before George Stephenson had developed a locomotive—which he named "The Rocket"—that could be relied upon to actually perform its required functions. It was operated on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was opened in 1830, became an immediate success, and thereby justified Abbott Lawrence's faith in railroads.[32]

[31] (1792-1855); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 44-46.
[32] Arthur Elton, *British Railways* (1947), p. 17.

PHILIP E. THOMAS
First President of the Baltimore and Ohio



JONATHAN KNIGHT
First Civil Engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio

This picture and cover photograph courtesy B. & O. Railroad

RAIL ROAD NOTICE.

A SUFFICIENT number of CARS being now provided for the accommodation of passengers, notice is hereby given, that the following arrangements for the arrival and departure of carriages have been adopted and will take effect on and after Monday Morning next the 5th inst. viz.

A BRIGADE OF CARS will leave the Depot in Pratt street at 6 and 10 o'clock, A M., and at 3 to 4 o'clock P M. and will leave the Depot at Ellicotts' Mills at 6 and 8½ o'clock, A. M., and at 12½ and 6 o'clock P. M.

Way Passengers will provide themselves with Tickets at the Office of the Company in Baltimore or at the Depots at Pratt street and Ellicotts' Mills, or at the Relay-house near Elkridge Landing.

The evening way car for Ellicott's Mills will continue to leave the depot, Pratt street, at 6 o'clock, P. M. as usual.

N B. Positive orders have been issued to the Drivers to receive no passengers into any of the Cars without Tickets.

P. S. Parties desirous to engage a Car for the day can be accommodated after the 5th July.

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RAIL ROAD EXCURSION

The subscribers having made arrangements with the President and Directors for the disposal of tickets at their office, City Hotel, with a view of affording those citizens and strangers who wish to avail themselves of that pleasant excursion the opportunity of doing so at the least possible expense, have provided a conveyance from the city to the Depot, leaving their office daily at half past 8 o'clock A. M. and half past 2 o'clock P M., and meeting the train of Cars at the Depot on their return.

Parties can be accommodated with the superior Coach Pioneer by application to them at *one dollar* from the city to Ellicott's Mills, and back.—Their stage will leave the City Hotel, calling at Beltzhoover's &c. in Baltimore street. STOCKTON & STOKES,

je 24 GPR \ eolmo

Early Advertisement of the Railroad Before Steam Power Was Used. Below is Advertisement for Transportation to and from Mount Clare Station.

From Baltimore American, July 10, 1830

At the time his letter was written, Abbott Lawrence was, in all likelihood, also interested in the formation of two railroads then projected in Massachusetts, the Boston and Lowell, incorporated in 1830, and the Boston and Worcester, incorporated in 1831. These two roads were built shortly after their incorporation but subsequent to the Baltimore and Ohio, whose construction influenced greatly that of all railroads built or planned in the early 1830s.

It was little wonder then that Orson Kellogg, perturbed about a project for which he and his fellow-citizens were sponsors, but knew little, and whose scope was greater than any railroad or canal of that day, should seek for something assuring, from one of the few men who had the slightest knowledge of their problems. Further assurance was found in Lawrence's letter to the effect that he expected to receive, in a few days, a report on the practicability of "constructing railways to advantage in this commonwealth [Massachusetts]," then being prepared by a special committee of the state legislature. There is little doubt that a copy of this report, when completed, found its way to the directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.

A Method or Lifting Railway Cars Over Elevations

Letter, L. Byllesby to "Directors or Manager [of the B. and O.]," April 23, 1827 [No. 2].

The identity of Byllesby who wrote from Athens, Georgia, is not known, but it is evident from the text of his letter that he had given some thought, as an inventor, to the problem of transporting vehicles of various types over the heights that were interposed by nature along the route of a projected railroad, and, as we shall see later, the necessary lifts or locks along the route of a canal.

His scheme, illustrated by a sketch, contemplated the use of a continuous chain running from a structure at the bottom of an incline to a similar structure at the top. The vehicle would be attached to the lower end of the chain and hoisted up the incline by weights or by a counterweighted vehicle attached to the upper or descending end of the chain. A "nicety of balance is acquired by use of horses or an engine," explains Byllesby, along with

a suggestion as to the propriety of taking some small reward for his advice, or for supervising the erection of the system.

Among the design or constructional features of a railroad or a canal which attracted much attention in these early days, inclined planes were most prominent, and the extent to which they should be avoided or adopted was always a problem. Since the primitive locomotives possessed limited power as hill climbers, it seemed at one time to be absolutely necessary that railways intended to traverse mountainous country, over routes which necessitated heavy grades, should be supplemented by inclined planes, on which stationary engines were often designed to furnish the motive power. It was in accordance with this belief that some of the earliest coal railways were supplied with inclined planes.

It should be remembered that each of the successive improvements in locomotives that helped to increase their power to ascend sharp grades also diminished the necessity for inclined planes. Jonathan Knight in 1832 said

> So recently as the beginning of the year 1829, the relative economy of the stationary and locomotive systems, upon level railways, or upon those slightly inclined, was warmly contested in England, and was not put to rest until the recent improvements in the locomotive engine took place.[33]

In the absence of inclined planes, horse power was sometimes used on the heavy grades of early roads, even after locomotives drew trains on the level portions of such lines. By 1836, gradients then using inclined planes were being negotiated by locomotives of greater power, and engineers were becoming aware that more reliance could be made upon the friction between rail and driving wheel to overcome these grades. The inclined plane was originally designed to overcome these heavy gradients because there was no faith at that time in the theory of adhesion of steel to steel at the beginning of railroad history. Belief came only with experimentation.[34]

An inclined plane, as proposed by Byllesby, was the general rule on steep gradients. The "modus operandi" was either a horse, or a chain, cable or rope attached to the vehicle to be elevated and actuated by a stationary engine located at the head of the incline. In general the height to be surmounted required

[33] "Jonathan Knight" data, B. & O. Research Library.

[34] J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 90.

several inclines connected by several hundred feet of level stretches in between the inclined portions of the grade.

While all due credit should be given to Byllesby for his system, it was by no means a novel theory for railway use. Jessop, Wood, and Strickland all described the inclined planes used in England some years previously to 1827. They were also used in the United States in the coal regions of Pennsylvania at Mauch Chunk in 1827, in 1829 at the Carbondale mines, and early in 1830 at Belmont, near Philadelphia, by the predecessor of the present day Pennsylvania Railroad. On the early coal roads gravity and horses or mules were the principal prime movers.

We could assume, however, without too much presumption, that the idea of inclines in hoisting canal boats at locks originated with Byllesby's scheme since he sent a copy of his letter to the " Morris Canal Company " in New Jersey, where a similar scheme, with slight modifications was adopted. Byllesby, like Abbott Lawrence, had little faith in the future of canals but thought that they and also marine railways could use his system to advantage. There were 23 locks on the Morris and Essex Canal all using inclined tracks to raise and lower the boats. This canal was opened in 1831-1832. It was designed by James Renwick, a famous engineer of that day. It seems unlikely that the use of the Byllesby inclined-plane theory could have been just a coincidence on the part of Renwick four years after the receipt of Byllesby's letter, but similar coincidences have happened many times in the history of inventions. As for the operation of marine railways, those of today are little different in design from that suggested by Byllesby.

From studies made by the founders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, four inclined planes were designed for the heights at Parr's Spring Ridge. These were built about 1831, but abandoned in 1838, as obstructions to traffic. As a matter of fact, tests made in 1836 demonstrated the ability of the more powerful locomotives of that period to " stick to the rails " on heavy grades and the inclined planes for main traffic were soon abandoned. It is unlikely that the designers of the planes at Parr's Spring Ridge were influenced by Byllesby's design since they were familiar with those suggested in the treatises of Wood and Strickland, which preceded this letter by several years.

Proposed Route Through Virginia

Letter, Samuel Brown to Philip E. Thomas, May 13, 1827 [No. 3].

This letter was written from Winchester shortly after the organization of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been effected, early in 1827. It advocated what Brown considered to be the "most profitable" route for the location of the new railroad, viz: from Baltimore to Harpers Ferry, via Point of Rocks, or very close to its present location,

> crossing the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, the only gap in the Blue Ridge that would not have to be materially taken down [excavated], by Charlestown in Virginia, or a little north there of, crossing the South Branch of the Potomac, near Romney, where is the great Beef and Wheat market,—wheat being waggoned in from 80 to 100 miles—near the proposed State Road from Winchester to Clarksburg, and thence to Ohio near the mouth of the Muskingum River [Marietta].

This letter was written in the Quaker style of expression and indicated that Brown had a very intimate knowledge of the country between Winchester and the Ohio River. The fact that he advocated the line to be located near Winchester, and thence to the Ohio River, via Romney, is due undoubtedly, to his desire to have the railroad tap this fine agricultural region on its way to the Western market. As a matter of fact the railroad, after extensive surveys and estimates of cost, did get to Romney by way of a branch line from Green Spring in 1884 and the old turnpike, now known as U. S. Route 50, completed the route to Clarksburg (now W. Va.) and thence to Parkersburg, as suggested by Brown.

The railroad, however, upon crossing the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, continued up the Potomac Valley to Cumberland, which was reached in 1842 and on to Wheeling, via Grafton, reaching Wheeling in December, 1852. The extension from Grafton to Parkersburg was completed in 1857, by the Northwestern Virginia Railroad under a special charter by the state of Virginia.

Help for the Surveyors

Letter, George Baer to Philip E. Thomas, July 14, 1827 [No. 4].

The members of a committee named in the letter were Messrs. Morsel, Henry McElfresh, and Wootton, all of New Market, Worman who "resided on the north of Frederick," G. Duvall and D. Bowlus, residing in the Middletown Valley, Kemp, W. Mantz, and the writer, living in Frederick, nine altogether.[35] Their services were offered and "all information possessed relative to the locality of the country, to the Brigades of Engineers passing in the direction of Frederick." There was no doubt of their anxiety for the railroad to come to Frederick and their cooperative efforts to bring it there, but whatever their methods, they achieved a successful outcome, as did the engineers whom they offered to assist, for the road reached Frederick in December, 1831. Frederick at last had a railroad, and the railroad had a terminal. These engineers had selected a route that is used today as a branch line without deviating at all from its original location.

A Visit to the "Quincy"

Letter, S. H. Long to Philip E. Thomas, October 1, 1827 [No. 5].

Colonel Long visited this project in October, 1827, in order to render a report to Thomas and the Board of Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, concerning its construction and operation. This letter written in Boston forms that report and gives in detail the manner in which the Quincy or Granite Railroad was built.

The Quincy Railroad had been built to transport granite from the quarries at Quincy, Massachusetts, to a landing on the Neponset River, a distance of about three miles. The granite was used in the construction of the Bunker Hill Monument, across the bay, in Charlestown. The railroad historian H. S. Tanner,[36] tells us the railroad had one branch and included an inclined plane 275 feet in length. From the wharf on the Neponset River the stone

[35] Baer (1763-1834) served as a member of Congress, 1797-1801 and 1815-1817, and as Mayor of Frederick, 1820; see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 802.

[36] Tanner, *A Description of the Canals and Rail Roards of the United States* (New York, 1840), pp. 42-43.

was transferred to flat-bottomed boats and towed by steam power to Deven's wharf at Charlestown, where it was again transferred to teams for the final leg of the journey to the monument site on Bunker's Hill. This repeated transfer of the stone damaged it extensively and after a few courses of the monument had been raised by this method the remainder of the stone was teamed directly from the quarry to the building site. The railroad, however, continued in use for the hauling of granite, but its construction had delayed the prosecution of the monument work.

The spring of 1827 saw the monument work fairly under way. Colonel Long's visit in the fall of that year benefited accordingly from this operation and a more accurate knowledge of the costs incurred was obtained from the road's operator, Gridley Bryant. From this letter, Thomas and the directors gained a knowledge of how a railroad could be constructed using stone sills for support of the rails, a method Colonel Long recommended as being " easily wrought." Its adoption along the first stretches of the B. & O. created quite a controversy with the advocates of wood supports for the rails, both methods being tried out until a more standardized type was developed that utilized the wood for crossties, the stone for ballast, and the iron rail laid atop of the crossties, providing eventually the railroad track as we know it today.

More Suggestions

Letter, Gideon Davis to Philip E. Thomas, December 20, 1827 [No. 6].

From the phraseology of this letter, Davis, like Samuel Brown of Frederick (Letter No. 3) was also a Quaker. It is remarkable how many of those connected with the founding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad were members of the Society of Friends in this country, men possessed of the clear perception and serene confidence of their religion. Gideon Davis, who wrote from George Town, D. C., had given much thought to the details of track construction, as developed by the engineers of the day, from the few examples of railroads then in operation. He recommends in his letter that the wooden rails be of " good heart oak " or yellow pine, laid " edge up," which method incidentally, as almost anyone with a knowledge of lumber would know, produced the longest wear. He further advised that the top of the

rails be rounded and that the wheel tires or rims, be made concave to fit the rounded surface of the rails.

These, and many other constructive items using the materials and tools at hand, were offered by Gideon Davis for the construction of the road. Many of his suggestions followed closely the current practices of that day. Cross sills of wood resting on stone slabs (see Letter No. 5) or piling as supports for the wood rails, was a type of construction in use at the time and adopted by the builders of much later railroads particularly the South Carolina Railroad in 1830-1833, and the New York and Erie (Erie Railroad) in 1835-1840.

Gideon Davis thought he "may be entirely mistaken about the treads of the wheels working on the wooden rails," but he was not convinced that he was wrong—and he further advocated that the broad tread wooden wheels should run on wooden rails and not on iron strips. The use of iron wheels on iron rails was not thought of at the time and steel was far in the future. As for motive power the horse was always the first to be thought of, although the animal should be placed "on the cariage," that is, not on a separate tow path alongside of the car. This piece of equipment should "move in advance for the purpose of towing a . . . train," or the passengers themselves, by a system of ratchets and levers, could humanely help propel the train along the track. This ingenious contrivance, needless to say, was never adopted by the Baltimore and Ohio or any subsequent railroad.

Davis did suggest that planks be laid over the crossties as a sort of towing path for the horse and to save the expense of "filling in" between the ties. Economy seems to have been the theme of Mr. Davis' letter, regardless of the practicability of his schemes. Taken as a whole, however, the letter reflects much originality and resourcefulness and was in step with the practices of that day. To explain his ideas he was willing to furnish drawings or models of the working parts. He also had an idea for a "revolving bridge" capable of containing the "weight and action" of several horses. This may possibly have been a treadmill device, such as was tried by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for a short time in 1829. As a matter of fact, in 1829 and 1830, both the Baltimore and Ohio and the South Carolina railroads tried out just about ever type of motive power, including sail-cars, that the human mind could devise at that time. Gideon

Davis was apparently not alone in his various ideas for "moving the trains."

Letter, Littleton W. Tazewell to John Patterson, March 8, 1828 [No. 7].

What reply Patterson [37] made to this inquiry from Senator Tazewell [38] is not known, but it is a matter of record that later on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad exerted every possible effort in Richmond to obtain favorable legislation from the Virginia State Assembly, through the talents of young Thomas Swann,[39] able assistant to President Louis McLane [40] (1838-1846).

According to Tazewell's letter, written from Washington, the Virginia delegation in Congress was deeply concerned with the attitude of the Virginia Assembly towards the "Baltimore Railroad." Having granted the railroad a charter on March 8, 1827—similar in most respects to the one drawn up by John McMahon and passed by the state of Maryland on February 28—permitting the railroad to strike the Ohio River at any point *not lower* than the mouth of the Little Kanawha River (Parkersburg), it proceeded to repudiate this provision in a later act in 1838, requiring the railroad to build into Wheeling. This provision of the amended charter, however, while made ten years later than Tazewell's letter, was the culmination of the many delays thrown at the railroad by the Virginia legislature. It is not unreasonable to assume that the "Baltimore Railroad Bill" referred to by Tazewell in 1828, as "lost in the [state] senate by an equal division of that body" was one of the early efforts of the railroad and its loyal supporters among the Virginia delegation to obtain favorable action from the Virginia legislators enabling the railroad to establish a definite policy in regard to its western expansion to the Ohio River.

In his 26th Annual Report (1851-1852) Thomas Swann, then president of the Baltimore and Ohio, wrote as follows:

After years of delay, surrounded by embarrassments and staggering under the vastness of the undertaking, with a credit almost exhausted—a few remaining friends, scattered and disheartened . . . and an opposition

[37] Probably John Patterson (1783-1851), son of William Patterson, a founder of the Railroad.
[38] (1774-1860); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 355-357.
[39] (1809-1883); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 237-238.
[40] (1786-1857); see *D. A. B.*, XII, 113-115.

rendered formidable by the honesty of convictions, this great work entered upon its extension from Cumberland to the City of Wheeling, a distance of more than 200 miles.

In regard to the attitude of the State of Virginia and very possibly to the particular bill referred to by Tazewell *Niles Register* of December 29, 1827, makes this pertinent observation:

> The very essence of the "Virginia Policy" is squeezed into a petition inserted in the Enquirer (Richmond) of the 20 inst. praying that the legislature of the State may instantly repeal the act of the last session which authorized the survey and making of a railroad through certain parts of Virginia to the Ohio River, etc., . . . the sum and substance of the whole seems to be, that Virginia ought to retain for herself the *Sovereign right* to prevent internal improvements by others, whether she herself will, or will not make them. And it appears as if agreed that it will be better for the State to be deprived of a market for its production, than that Baltimore may become the place of their deposit. . . .

This protective attitude in regard to the question of internal improvements "by others," by not only Virginia, but Pennsylvania as well, undoubtedly delayed the Westward construction of the Baltimore and Ohio for many years.

In *Niles Register*, under date of February 22, 1845, we find the following: "On the 19th inst. the legislation of Virginia finally passed an act, granting the right of way through the State to Wheeling, on the Ohio." The act was regarded as so restrictive in its provisions that the railroad refused to accept it.

As though these political delays were not sufficient to dishearten the early builders of the railroad, there were financial difficulties as well. Before the railroad reached Cumberland in 1842, iron and coal companies in that region had obtained charters to build railways connecting their mining properties with Cumberland for eventual transportation by the railroad, and later by both canal and railroad with the eastern markets. These early mine railways were small tram-roads of the type used in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania and described in Letter No. 12.

In 1853 the tracks of the B. & O. reached Wheeling. The success of the Western extension from Cumberland to the Ohio River avoiding Pennsylvania was due largely to the policy of financing the work from net earnings and to the engineering skill of B. H. Latrobe,[41] chief engineer in those years.

[41] (1806-1878); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 25-26.

The Tariff on Steel for Railroad Construction

Letter, John H. Barney to Philip E. Thomas, April 26, 1828 [No. 8].

I enclose you the Bill reported by General Smith in the Senate and I learn that it did not receive the sanction of a majority of that Committee of Finance of which Genl S. is Chairman, but was merely permitted to be reported to the Senate as a proje[c]t to be more fully investigated.

If it can be satisfactorily ascertained that the Country cannot furnish the iron as fast as it may be required, I anticipate confidently that we shall succeed, and on this mainly depends the result.

To understand the purport of this letter of Congressman John H. Barney [42] of Maryland, written from Washington, to President Thomas of the B. & O., it is perhaps advisable to review a portion of our first Tariff Act of 1789, which, as originally drawn, imposed a stiff duty on iron rails, although there were no rail-rolling mills in this country that required the need of a protective tariff of this nature. Forty years later the importation of railroad iron became an expensive luxury and a matter of prime importance to the rapid progress of the railroad.

On March 22, 1828, *Niles Register* of Baltimore noted the following item:

Senate, March 17, 1828. Mr. Smith of Maryland presented the memorial of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, praying the passage of an act to allow them to import from foreign countries a quantity of iron sufficient to supply the wants of the company: which was, on motion of Mr. Smith, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

On April 2, 1828, *Niles Register* notes that

Mr. Smith, of Maryland, from the Committee on Finance (of which Mr. Smith was chairman) to which was referred the memorial of the railroad company,—reported a bill granting a draw-back on imported iron and machinery, for the use of railroads. . . . Read and passed to a second reading. . . . On motion of Mr. Smith the memorial and accompanying documents were ordered to be printed.

We assume that this was the bill referred to, a copy of which Barney sent to President Thomas on April 26, 1828. The bill did not receive the sanction of the Finance Committee. It was, according to Barney, merely permitted to be reported to the Senate as a

[42] (1785-1857); see *Biographical Directory, op. cit.*, p. 817.

project to be more fully investigated. Mr. Barney pointed out in his letter that if it is found that this country was unable to furnish iron as fast as required, he anticipated "confidently that we shall succeed and on this assumption of contingency depends the results."

The "Mr. Smith" referred to in connection with these debates and other activities of the Tariff Act was, of course, none other than Gen. Samuel Smith (1752-1839), of Revolutionary and War of 1812 fame whose service in Congress spanned the years 1793-1833.

The debates on the question of modifying the duties on iron imported for railroad use started in the Senate on April 23, 1828. The chief opposition came from Senator Marks of Pennsylvania in which state the production of iron was a major industry. Preceding the debates on this provision of the Tariff Act, *Niles Register* of April 12, 1828, notes the introduction of the bill into the Senate and states:

> The following bill is before the Senate; A bill to admit iron and machinery necessary for railroads—duty free. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives . . . that the president and directors of any railroad, incorporated by any state or states, be, and they are, hereby authorized, to import for the use of such railroad, iron and machinery duty free.

Niles Register was opposed to this bill as it contained no reciprocity features but looked for its passage. General Smith read to the Senate letters from Isaac McKim and the Ellicotts corroborating the fact that the iron sought to be taxed could not be obtained in this country. Further amendments to the bill provided for a tax of $30.00 per ton on the iron, to be reimbursed to the importer "when the iron was in place on the railroad." "The iron so designated must be prepared to be laid without further manufacture." Further amendments made at a later date (1830) reduced the ad valorem, and an act of 1832 provided for other gradual tax reductions a boon to the struggling railroads of that era.[43]

[43] *Tariff Acts Passed by the United States* (Washington, 1909), House Document 671, 61st Congress, 2d Session.

A Construction Superintendent Comes to the Railroad

Letter, Caspar W. Wever to Philip E. Thomas, April 17, 1828 [No. 9].

In the formative years of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the principal personnel needed to shape its course and construct its physical features were engineers and railroad construction men. Where this type of personnel is needed today the specifications are preceded by the qualification "experienced." As so often pointed out in descriptions pertaining to these early pioneers, with the exceptions of those few who worked on the designs or on the construction of the early canals and turnpikes, there were none that could qualify as being "experienced" in the making of a railroad. Perhaps the trained mathematicians supplied by the War Department could be called "experienced" for early engineering work, since many fortifications, light houses, and land surveys fitted them for the analyses and development of reconnaisances necessary to make a start on any technical project.

In respect to the constructional features that followed such reconnaisances, the experiences of the turnpike builders more nearly approached the knowledge required for railroad building than any other work involving the skilled trades. Certainly the ability to handle men and meet emergencies will always prove to be of the greatest importance in "working on the railroad."

Caspar Wever had worked with Jonathan Knight on the National Pike and, like him, was a Quaker. Knight had already been appointed by Philip Thomas as one of the civil engineers of the new railroad along with Col. Stephen H. Long. These two men were chosen to make the preliminary surveys for the road. Of Wever, Hungerford says:

> Wever may have had his disagreeable traits. Eventually Captain McNeill quarreled with him, bitterly, and finaly parted with him, to go with the Susquehanna Railroad. . . . Caspar Weaver came from a region—the pioneer Ohio country—at a time when diplomacy was a virtue often scorned. But that he was a master builder, no one can deny. . . .

Later developments and labor incidents proved that, and also the fact that he could speak his mind on the conduct of the workmen when it came to the too prevalent use of hard liquor by the contractors and the workmen employed by them.[44]

In this letter, written from St. Clairsville, Ohio, Wever stated:

[44] Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 65, 120.

Every effort will be made and all my skill exerted to fulfill the duties of the high and responsible trust committed to my superintendency by this appointment. The fact that my friends Col. Long and Jonathan Knight are to be the active engineers is one of the strongest inducements to enter the service of the Board [of Directors]. With them I hope, nay I believe, that I can proceed in the execution of the duties assigned me with perfect harmony and satisfaction.

I shall quit the service of the Govt. with reluctance and particularly so whilst my operations are under the direction of the present Secretary of War [45] and Chief Engineer [46] from each of whom I have received the most courteous and polite treatment. But with their knowledge and consent the separation will not be so unpleasant.

This cordiality with these officials would indicate his ability to get along with his superiors, in spite of his quarrel with Captain McNeill.

Weverton, Maryland, a junction on the Baltimore and Ohio's Metropolitan Branch, a few miles east of Harpers Ferry, is named in Wever's honor by the railroad. A branch line from Weverton to Hagerstown, built in 1867, is still in use.

Origin of the Tractor

Letter, G. N. Reynolds to President and Directors, June 26, 1828 [No. 10].

As soon as the report of the formation of the new railroad was spread abroad, many suggestions were received by Thomas or the directors, pertaining to " where and how " the road should be constructed. Considering the newness of the railroad and the untried methods of constructing them and the vehicles to be operated thereon, the ingenuity and the inventiveness displayed was remarkable.

While exceedingly ingenious, most of these suggestions lacked the value of even experimental use and the time element in which to show the practicable results that could develop only through a gradual process of evolution from their primitive origins. It was through such evolutionary processes that the roadbed, the track itself and the locomotives and cars that ran upon it, surely and finally reached such stages of practicable operation that they could be called representative prototypes of today's luxurious equipment.

Reynolds, of Charleston, S. C., whose principal occupation was

[45] James Barbour, of Virginia.
[46] Col. Alexander Macomb was Chief Engineer, 1821-1828.

that of building coaches, was probably a very fine craftsman. He offered for consideration a few remarks relative to a " simple and cheap " type of railroad " which can be constructed." Also, a " rotary or endless iron railway carriage," which he " flatters himself will afford all the facilities to the same given power as what is experienced on the more expensive Rail Roads now in use," the adoption of which he believes will save many " 100 thousands of dollars " in the purchase of iron besides time in the " compleation " of the road. It is apparent that, except for fastenings, no " iron " was to be used in the track construction itself. " Should a locomotive engine be used " he had invented a " rotary iron rack for the wheels of the engine to run upon."

An extended perusal of this letter develops the ingenuity of the designer, as he further states that wear on the " bare " wooden rails is reduced by the use of concave treads or tires on the wheel rims of the carriage. (This type of rim was also suggested by Gideon Davis.) The wheel treads and the rails were to be " well greased " to reduce friction, which Reynolds claims would be " very light," since the " iron rail *rolls with the wheel.*" Lateral friction would be the " least possible," and far less than that caused by the ordinary flanged wheel. This lateral friction could be still further reduced by use or " friction rollers," only two of which would touch the sides of the wooden rail at any one time. The chassis or underbed of the carriage is described as being of an underslung type, in order to preserve a low center of gravity, or to " equalize the weight on the wheels when ascending inclined planes " and to act as a ballast to keep the " waggon from upending however great its velocity." Reynolds offers to send a " little model " for inspection and to serve as an explanation of his ideas. There is an indorsement on the letter telling him to send along the model.

The limited technology and small productive facilities of the period, however, could easily have forestalled any attempt at constructing many of the full-sized originals, which if successful, and a suitable roadbed devised, would still have required a duplication of parts not possible at that time. When steel did arrive in the technical field, through the inventive geniuses of Bessemer and Kelly, it was immediately substituted for the unwieldly forgings, and even the wooden parts, composing the mechanism.

To the average layman, Reynold's description of his combina-

tion track and carriage, undoubtedly sounds complicated and impossible of execution. To the more technical-minded reader, the resemblance to a modern caterpillar tractor is at once apparent and confirms the old maxim that there is "nothing new under the sun."

Maryland's Attorney General Declines An Invitation [47]

Letter, Roger B. Taney to Philip E. Thomas, July 3, 1828 [No. 11].

The occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on July 4, 1828, was truly a great and memorable event, not only for the railroad but for the city of Baltimore as well. The long procession of various and sundry trades—the many distinguished guests, the ceremonies and actual laying of the stone by the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then in his 91st year, all of these memorable events have been recorded in detail by our historians.[48]

Of Taney little needs to be said. Born in Calvert County, he married Anna, sister of Francis Scott Key. He served his country as Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice of the United States. He wrote from Annapolis on this occasion:

> I am sorry that I cannot be with you tomorrow. My health has lately sufferred a good deal from professional engagements, and if I were to come to Baltimore I should be unable to join in the ceremonies and festivities of the day.—Allow me however to congratulate you most cordially on the commencement of the great work over which you preside; and which is destined I hope to realize the warmest wishes of its friends.

A Report on the Mauch Chunk Railroad

Letter, Jonathan Knight to Philip E. Thomas, October 31, 1928 [No. 12].

It was very necessary to the founders of the railroad that as much knowledge as possible be obtained of similar existing structures. To this end, the president and directors of the road sent their technical advisors to England (Letters No. 14 and 20), their army engineer, Colonel Long to Quincy, Mass. (Letter No. 5), and their civilian engineer, Jonathan Knight, to Mauch

[47] John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, was unable to be present as he helped lay that very day the "first stone" of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Georgetown. See Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 39 n.

[48] A full account is in Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-144.

Chunk, Penn.[49] to report on the design and construction and operational features of one of the very few railroads that were then completed or in progress of construction.

During his early engineering days with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad there were no rules governing railroad technology or management. It was not even known how steep a grade nor how sharp a curve could be handled by a locomotive, much less by other suggested types of motive power. For these and other reasons, Knight early advocated the one-company ownership and operation of a railroad by those having possession of this particular type of knowledge, rather than by turnpike or road-builders, who were too prone to consider a railroad in the light of a public highway. He believed in the private control of all operations connected with a railroad's usage, which theory, after all, was also that of its founders; and also of its predecessors at Honesdale, Quincy, and Mauch Chunk.[50]

Responsible for the many inventions and improvements that were quick to follow the first crude experiments in roadbed construction and various types of transportation, were both Jonathan Knight and the inventor, Ross Winans,[51] who are credited with having a large part in the evolution of the B. & O. and in obtaining its sobriquet, "the Rail Road University of the United States." [52]

Consequently, the visit of Jonathan Knight to inspect the Mauch Chunk gravity railroad which ran from the Summit mines to the Lehigh River canal boats, a distance of about nine miles, represented the confidence that Mr. Thomas and the directors had in Knight's abilities to describe, from a "railroad" standpoint the operation and construction of an existing project. It was not a passenger-carrying railroad, but one on which the cars were returned up a steep grade to the top of the mountain by mule-power. The mules had their own cars in which they travelled down the incline to its foot. They might be called America's first railroad passengers, unless one is a stickler for lexicology.

[49] "Jonathan Knight Story," MS, B. & O. Research Library; Stewart H. Holbrook, *Story of American Railroads* (New York, 1947), p. 7; Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 76.

[50] Mauch Chunk is the county seat of Carbon County. It is about 90 miles northwest of Philadelphia on the Lehigh River.

[51] (1796-1877); see *D. A. B.*, XX, 371-372.

[52] Editorial in *American Railroad Journal* (1835), quoted in Hungerford, *op. cit.*, I, 112.

I had a pleasant time of it [Knight wrote] at M. Chunk was well used by Josiah White in all respects. He went with me up to the mines, and accompanied me down in the pleasure carriages, we descended in about half an hour pleasantly & safely, though few words were spoken by the company of 16 persons, except in the conversation between J. White & myself which was pretty continuous and in relation to the Rail road. The M. Chunk rail rd is rough and has several obvious defects, in the graduation, in the curvatures, & in the inequality of the iron rails as to width, and perhaps in some other respects, but, as a whole, and considering the time in which it was done and the haste in the execution, and also taking into view that it is only to accommodate the transit of heavy burthens but in one direction and that by *gravity*, I pronounce the work an extraordinary one.

Jonathan Knight's report, written in New York, then describes in detail the manner in which the Mauch Chunk road was constructed, a type of railroad which differed very little from other mining or tram roads. It succeeded an earlier or graded road from the Summit Mines to the Lehigh Canal, nearly a thousand feet below which was built by Josiah White, who laid out this road in 1818. Anthracite coal was discovered at Summit Hill in 1791, by Philip Ginter, a German hunter. When Josiah White laid out the original road he intended that it should be a railroad when business warranted the laying of rails on this graded surface. This was done in 1827, one year before Knight's visit. The grading was done with an engineer's level, the first time this instrument was ever used for the grading of a road. In 1844 a back-track was laid over Mount Pisgah and Mount Jefferson to the mines where it joined the old mule track. It was then called the "switchback" and was used for coal transportation until 1870 when it was abandoned for this purpose and enterprising citizens of the region hit upon the very happy idea of utilizing it for a "scenic railroad" until 1933. In 1937 the rails were scrapped and unfortunately used later by Japan in World War II.[53]

A Siding for the Mills

Letter, N. H. Ellicott to Philip E. Thomas, November 3, 1828 [No. 13].

The engineers for the railroad had surveyed alternate routes from the Pratt Street terminal in Baltimore to reach the Patapsco River Valley which they then planned to follow westward. The

[53] "Switch-back" data supplied by Mr. Charles D. Neast, of Mauch Chunk.

second annual report for the year 1827-1828 indicated that other surveys had shown the practicability of the selected route which while not as short as the route via Elysville for instance, had less heavy grades, and in the opinion of the engineers was the best route surveyed for the use of the proposed horse-power. Little was known about the climbing power of a locomotive—only its running powers on a level track. The route finally selected was that of today's line via Relay and Ellicott City, then known as Ellicott's Mills.

As the rail Road opposite to our mill [Ellicott wrote] is in a state of considerable forwardness, and as I am aware that it will be necessary to make some provision as to a suitable turn out place for the accommodation of our Mill, and as thou has already informed that you intended to do it, I thought it right merely to remind you of the necessity in order to provide for it, as it will be attended with much less difficulty now than when the road is completed.

The proper place for the turn out I suppose Weaver can fix on and if he will call on us we will give him all the assistance in the case we can.

The mills were started in 1772 by the three sons of Andrew Ellicott who emigrated to Bucks County, Penn., in 1730. The three sons, Joseph, Andrew, and John had purchased land and mill-sites on the Patapsco River, about 10 miles west of Baltimore and built mills for the grinding of grain, most of which, at first, was grown on their own property. They built roads for their wagons to Baltimore and to Fredericktown at their own expense. All of the family were members of the Society of Friends. They were exceedingly public-spirited and intensely interested in all matters pertaining to the improvement and welfare of the state and its citizens. Their emigration to Maryland and to their lands on the Patapsco was made via sailing vessels from Philadelphia to New Castle (now in Delaware) where they landed and loaded their paraphernalia on wagons and carts which were driven to the head of the Elk River, reloaded on vessels which took them to Elkridge Landing, where they again loaded their wagons and carts for the trip to the site they had previously purchased for their operations.

The three brothers transacted their business under the firm name of Ellicott & Co. By 1774 buildings and houses for the workers had been erected. A fire which occurred in 1804 destroyed the flour "manufacturing" and all had to be rebuilt by these deter-

mined families, whose predecessors were known as the "Fathers of American Milling." Since the B. & O. opened to Ellicott's Mills on May 24, 1830, construction was approaching the mills when this letter was written.[54]

Inspection of an English Railway

Letter, Knight, McNeill, and Whistler to Philip E. Thomas, December 9, 1828 [No. 14].

In December, 1828, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was in the course of construction. In 1826 George Stephenson (1781-1848), the famous English engineer often called the "Father of Railways" had been appointed its engineer, not only of construction but of locomotive power as well.[55] After experience with colliery locomotives and as engineer on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, which had been opened in 1825 as a horse-drawn road for the passenger trade and locomotive operated for the "goods" or freight traffic, George Stephenson was selected to build the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which Christian Barnham calls the "father and mother of all railways," due possibly to the fact that it was the "first public railway in the modern sense of the term." [56]

The Liverpool and Manchester was formally opened with great fanfare, on September 15, 1830, attended by such dignitaries as the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and the famous actress, Fanny Kemble, who described vividly this momentous occasion and the tragic accident to one of the participants during the ceremonies.

On October 6, 1829, occurred the historic "Rainhill Competition" of five very different types of locomotives (one was horse-operated) to ascertain whether "locomotive engines" or "stationary engines" were to be used to pull the trains over the thirty-two mile stretch of road. The locomotive "Rocket," with only two driving wheels and having its two cylinders and pistons at the rear end of the horizontal boiler, won the contest. The "Rocket" was the product of the inventive geniuses of George

[54] Martha E. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1865), Fund Publication No. 4.
[55] Elton, *loc. cit.*
[56] Bulletin No. 71 (1947), Railways and Locomotive Historical Society, Boston.

Stephenson and his son Robert and helped greatly to do away with the prejudices that existed at that time against locomotives, which were described by a Parliamentary committee as " Monsters . . . navigated by a tail of smoke and sulphur. . . ." [57] These were the controversial points of railroading that intrigued the visiting engineers, and they had the Stephensons personally to guide them in this portion of their report. As usual, stationary engines were planned for the two inclined planes on this road, although this point was not definitely settled then.

However, this historic competition occurred *after* the visit of the engineers sent by Mr. Thomas in 1828, to report on the progress of the railway and on its equipment. It is mentioned here since it represents the achievement of a certain goal that was then in the making.

As a contrast to American customs, the elaborate ceremonies that attended the opening of an English railway were commented upon by Charles Frances Adams, Jr., who said in 1878 [58]

> Naturally, the beginning of the railroad system in America was neither so interesting nor so picturesque as it had been in . . . Great Britain. . . . At most it was but an imitation; and that too, on a small scale. There the thing for a beginning, was on a large scale. The cost of the structure, the number of the locomotives, the fame of the guests, the mass and excitement of the spectators were all equal to the occasion. This was not so in America. Everything was diminutive and poor in 1831. The provincialism of the time and place is almost oppressive.

This was severe criticism, but our grandiose openings came later on when the menus were mouth-watering and the guests were our most distinguished personages. But the very early railroad openings in America were strictly utilitarian in purpose and strictly in keeping with the simplicity and economy of the pioneers who conducted them.

The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was a fine school for the budding railroad engineer of the period. It offered many points of instruction and interest to these engineers from the Baltimore and Ohio, whose potential capabilities were certainly as great as those possessed by the English engineers. There were deep " cuttings " and constantly settling embankments built across

[57] Elton, *loc. cit.*
[58] *Railroads, Their Origins and Problems* (New York, 1878), pp. 36-37.

the marshes; a mile long tunnel and sixty-three bridges over or under the line, and a nine-arch viaduct over the Sankey Valley.[59]

The influence of this early English railway on the visiting engineers engaged to construct America's first public-carrier railroad, was very great, and their report to President Thomas indicated this influence. The results of their inspection were observed in their various efforts to adopt many of the characteristics of the English railways. Such adoption was not always successful due to the differences that existed in topography and to the alignment of our tracks to meet the economies found necessary to build at all through virgin forests and to unite the terminals which were so many miles apart.

As a result of this mission to England, Letter No. 14 (written from Manchester, Eng.) expresses, in conclusion, a complete confidence in the methods "progress on our own Rail Way" but that "temporary railways are used more in England for the removal of soil and the placing of embankments." These methods were, however, employed in Western Virginia at a later date with amazing success.

A Doctor-Director

Letter, Patrick Macaulay to Philip E. Thomas, March 11, 1829 [No. 15], and Fragments, Macaulay's "Mission[s] to Washington," April 21, May 24, 1830 [No. 21].

These items are discussed here as both manuscripts refer to the same person, Dr. Patrick Macaulay, an early resident of Baltimore City and have to do with his connection as a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. No. 21 consists of two fragments of memoranda made by Dr. Macaulay in 1830 and relates to certain "missions" to Washington which he undertook for the railroad while a director.

Your note of the 9th. instant informing me of my election as one of the Directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road on the part of the Stockholders has been received.

For this mark of confidence and respect on the part of my former associates I offer to them my grateful acknowledgments. Whatever aid it may be in my power to afford will most freely be given toward the great and useful enterprize in which you are engaged.

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[59] Elton, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Since the City of Baltimore had subscribed heavily, it was represented on the Board of Directors. Macaulay was the City representative from April 2, 1827, to January 26, 1829. He was a stockholders' director from March 9, 1829, to May 25, 1833.

Patrick Macaulay was born in Yorktown, Va., in 1792. He died in Baltimore in 1849 in the prime of his usefulness to the city and while one of its leading physicians. He was a pupil of the famous Dr. Benjamin Rush and was also a founder of the Maryland Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the City Council from 1827 to 1830.[60]

A Letter from a Governor

Letter, Levi Lincoln to Philip E. Thomas, December 14, 1829 [No. 16].

This is a letter of appreciation from Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts, written from Worcester, acknowledging receipt of Thomas' "letter and packet containing numerous valuable pamphlets and papers relating to railroads." Governor Lincoln[61] appreciated the promptness accorded his request for this material and was particularly interested in the "manuscript letter" written by Colonel Long of the engineering staff of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Lincoln's interest was aroused by the "precise information" contained in Long's letter, relative to the construction of the railroad, which at that time was building towards Ellicott's Mills, which point was reached in May, 1830, using horse-power, which did not pay. Steampower, exemplified by Peter Cooper's little engine, the "Tom Thumb," was tried out in August, 1830, and by the "York" in 1831.[62] Long's letter, however, told of the railroad's construction and operation two year's ahead of any scheduled transportation on the road. Lincoln was also "especially interested" in the estimates of cost prepared by Long and in the analyses he had made of "double and single track" advantages and "expects this information to be very valuable to the Government of this Commonwealth [Massachusetts]."

[60] E. F. Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 481, and memoranda on file in B. & O. Research Library.

[61] (1782-1868); see *D. A. B.*, XI, 264-265.

[62] For details and illustrations, see L. W. Sagle, *A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power* (New York, 1952), pp. 1-4.

This letter evidenced a great interest in railroad matters, particularly those pertaining to his native state. While governor, he approved the charters of the Boston and Lowell Railroad in 1830, and the Boston and Providence and the Boston and Worcester, both in 1831. These railroads today are, respectively, parts of the great New England systems of the Boston and Maine and the New Haven railroads, and of the New York Central Lines.

A "Rotary" Steam Engine

Letter, Wm. Willis to President and Directors, January 1, 1830 [No. 17]

William Willis of Washington, D. C., offered this engine as a present to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "for its use with all the various modes and forms which are embraced by the principles, by which the rotary motion of the said engine are produced." The railroad "and its successors" are authorized "to erect whenever, or at whatever time, you, or they may think proper, as many of these engines as may be wanted from time to time, for the use of said Railroad, and you may consider this as a donation, free from any condition on your part. . . ." He promises to deliver, or send, in a short time, the specifications and drawings of the machinery.

Since this letter does not describe the use or uses to which the engine could be put, it must be assumed from his phrasing that the inventor offered it for whatever purposes the railroad might find it serviceable.

"Since the Company had committed itself to a program of extensive experimentation, it wished to encourage the inventive spirit of the national mechanicians." [63] This policy, a very costly one to a pioneer enterprise, was undoubtedly the reason for the many inventions and their suggestive uses being made the subject of these letters.

Rotary engines of various types and for various uses had been made since Branca invented the steam turbine in 1629. "Rotative" engines, as made by James Watt in 1782, made steam pressure available for turning machinery in mills, an accomplishment hardly inferior in importance to the invention of the steam-engine itself. The list of inventors utilizing steam as a moving power

[63] M. Chevalier. "History and Description of the Channels of Communication of the U. S." (mimeographed).

for either a rotary or reciprocating motion in an engine, ranges through the years from Hero 130 B. C. to Stephenson, and includes the famous names of Newcomen, Watts, Trevithick, and the Marquis of Worcester. "Rotary engines" were seemingly the early predecessors of the steam turbines in use today.

In *Niles Register*, December 25, 1830, we note the following account of a "Rotary Engine":

> Mr. Childs, of this city [Baltimore], has recently procured a patent for a steam engine which promises to be of great use, especially in propelling carriages on rail roads, upon which it may be made to ascend at any desired angle. . . . It will draw a carriage at an unusual velocity: it may be made at one-quarter the expense of Mr. Stephenson's, near Liverpool. Among the peculiarities of its structure, is a circular piston. . . . Dr. Jones, editor of the Journal of the Franklin Institute [Philadelphia], is said to have full confidence in the invention of Mr. Childs.

Willis' letter was written nearly a year before the above notice was published in *Niles Register*. The subject of "Rotary Engines" as a means of locomotion and as a substitution for the Stephenson, or reciprocal-motion type, seemed to be quite on the minds of the inventors of that period. However, the "straight" piston appears to have prevailed over the "rotary type," offered by its proponents, in the locomotive development of that era.

A Weighing Engine

Letter, William and James Brown & Co. to Philip E. Thomas, January 5, 1830 [No. 18].

From certain descriptions of purchases made at that time by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in England it is believed that William and James Brown & Co. of Liverpool were shipping agents for the railroad in that country. The manufacturer of the "Engine" was a Mr. Hutchinson, according to the letter, and the price of the machine was £200. There is no further description given except in relation to the "model" which was sent with the machine and described as necessary to its "proper erection, an indispensable accompaniment" to the machine, according to the manufacturer.

Since further description of the shipment is lacking and there was no other enclosure, we can assume its nature by a method of reasoning or deduction. It is noted from copies of estimates

made by the company and from data obtained by those who were sent to gather information from the few other railroads then existing or projected, both in this country and abroad, that the revenues derived or to be derived from the haulage of freight were figured on a tonnage basis. Therefore some device was necessary by which the cars and their loads could be weighed. In general, bulk weighing, at that period, was done as it is today, by a type of platform scale. The word " engine " used in the description of the machine, was applied to many mechanical contrivances.

The term " weighing engine " was frequently applied in the 18th and 19th centuries to a compound-lever type such as that invented and made by John Wyatt of Birmingham, England, in 1744.[64] Until the middle of the 18th century carts and heavy loads were weighed on large steelyards installed at roadside hostelries. Weighing was a laborious operation requiring the attachment of chains and the raising of the vehicle clear of the ground by a winch.

Thaddeus Fairbanks,[65] about 1830, the year that this letter was written, developed an idea that he had, whereby the vehicle could be drawn or rolled upon the platform and weighed with its contents. He patented this idea in 1831.

George A. Owens in his treatise on weighing machines is " constrained to deplore the inadequacy of the vocabulary of technical terms in use in the weighing industry." [66] He implies that a " Weighing Engine " could be either the Roman steelyard or the Wyatt weighing platform, but the term could hardly be applied to later road and railroad scales as developed and patented by Fairbanks.

In a letter cited in Note 64, Mr. F. G. Skinner wrote to the author:

Unfortunately Wyatt never patented his great invention and plenty of imitators arose before and after his death in 1766, though we have no record here of a Mr. Hutchinson as making these machines in 1830. It was quite usual in that period to make models of heavy weighing machines some of which were later exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851.

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[64] Letter from F. G. Skinner, Deputy Keeper, Science Museum, London, to author, Sep. 24, 1953.

[65] (1796-1886); see *D. A. B.*, VI, 264-265.

[66] *A Treatise on Weighing Machines* (1922).

The " weighing engine " mentioned in your letter as being shipped from England on 5th January 1830 for use on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would certainly have been a Wyatt type compound-lever machine because other continental types of platform weighers of that period (such as the Quintenz or Beranger types) would have been quite unsuitable for railway work.

The main portion of Wyatt's design . . . is still essentially the basic design of railroad platform and waggon weighing machines.

Considering the weight of the evidence given above, one would seem justified in assuming that Hutchinson's " Weighing Engine " was a Wyatt platform scale.

Schemes for Climbing the Mountains

Letter, Zebulon Parker to Caspar Wever, September 18, 1830 [No. 19]. (Referred by Wever to President Thomas.)

Of the many designs and inventions submitted to the pioneer builders in the early days of railroading, none seemed to intrigue the minds of the public more than a means whereby the cars might be pulled, pushed, or otherwise navigated up an inclined plane to a summit or elevation lying athwart the proposed line of the road. The descent was generally a simple matter of gravity and control.

The earliest types of locomotives were far too feeble in power and too light in weight to ascend much of a gradient—and little was known about the tractive force of the more powerful and heavier types that shortly succeeded the " Rockets " and " Tom Thumb's " of the experimental era. Later, by either a bold attempt with steam-power or by some chance happening, the fallacies of previous reasoning were discovered.

Mostly, however, the grades or inclines were negotiated by horse or mule power as at Parr's Spring Ridge and Mauch Chunk, or by stationary engines and ropes or cables as on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad (now the Pennsylvania Railroad) at Belmont near Philadelphia and at Columbia, Penn., on the Susquehanna River, or on the Allegheny Portage Railroad over the mountain at Blair's Gap, Penn., in the early 1830s. Another invention, which came later, employed engines having cog-wheels which readily climbed the steepest inclines, as at Mt. Washington in the White Mountains. Track construction on these early inclined

planes was of the crudest sort, the wood rails being laid on stone blocks, many of which may still be seen in their original positions.

Zebulon Parker writing from Dresden, Ohio, offered a system for elevating trains weighing as much as 100 tons, to a height of 100 feet, by the use of water-power, and unfortunately subject during the winter to the same climatic effects that destroyed the year-around usage of canals, the freezing of the water. Probably for this reason and that of the costly and impracticable nature of its operation and installation, Mr. Wever rejected the invention as not being "practically useful." [67] Wever was ever one to speak his mind.

In *Niles Register* of March 7, 1829, there is given an interesting description of still another invention made by an Elkton inventor, "to supersede the use of stationary engines, for the purpose of ascending inclined planes." This invention employed the use of a self-propelling "steam-carriage," which attached itself to a long chain fastened to a ring-bolt, or other stationary object, at the summit of the hill. The operation of the entire contraption, as described, is similar to that of a gymnast chinning a horizontal bar. But the advantages over the stationary engine were many and, in reality, to be treated with respectful consideration by the reader. *Niles* noted it as follows: "The project submitted is entirely new . . . and exceedingly simple."

Needless to say, inclined planes were abolished as soon as a track having a low gradient could be built around the elevations or the elevations could be tunnelled or excavated through. These alternatives occurred when the revenues of the road made it possible to build the more costly routes, but eventually the new routes would pay for themselves many times over by a saving in time and in the handling of an increased amount of traffic.

Another Letter about English Railways

Letter, Evan Thomas to Philip E. Thomas, April 15, 1830 [No. 20].

Although Philip Thomas and the directors of the railroad had sent their engineers to visit and report on the early English railways, in December, 1828, many new developments and improvements had transpired in England requiring immediate investiga-

[67] Endorsement on back of Parker's letter.

tion in order for the B. & O. to profit by them. To make these investigations and reports, Philip Thomas had sent his brother Evan to England. He arrived at Liverpool on April 14, 1830, " After a boisterous passage of nearly 29 days." He could not, of course, give in this letter much of an account of the railroads " in this country."

Evan Thomas states in this letter that " he has observed in a Liverpool newspaper that the Stephenson engine [" The Rocket "] carried 35 to 40 tons at 15 to 16 miles per hour." This did not seem to settle the question, then of public interest, as to whether the Rocket was a better engine than Ericsson's " Novelty," although it was the settled opinion in America that the Rainhill Competition in October, 1829, had proven the " Rocket " to be the best of the five engines competing. Our English friends, however, were still arguing the point over six months after the competition. Evan Thomas states that he would endeavor to ascertain why a Mr. James Cropper—evidently a local authority and a director of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway—favored the " Novelty." We surmise that Cropper's preference was due to a lack of technical knowledge.

The Liverpool and Manchester Railway had been constructed to compete with a previously built canal between these two cities. It was a success from the start, and Evan Thomas states that large dividends were expected by the management of the road. It seems that several vessels had sailed in the early spring of that year (1830) without some of their cargo " owing to the freezing of the canals," again justifying the opinion of the railway's advocates, and no doubt confounding its opponents. He finds " this opinion meets general concurrence." As stated previously (Letter No. 19), this " freezing of canals " caused their gradual abandonment in favor of the " year-around " railroad in those latitudes affected by freezing weather.

Evan Thomas states that he learns from a mutual friend " Mr. Brown," possibly George Brown, who was then in England, that " Ross Winans has sailed for the United States." It is significant that Winans, who had also been sent to England by the Baltimore and Ohio to study the " English System " was returning to this country in order to have a better chance " of bringing into operation some improvements in the application of power in overcoming resistance where there are ascents, etc." Ross Winans was a

great inventor of railroad equipment. Even today, the basic principles of car-wheel and car-body construction are those of Winans and his friend Jonathan Knight. Winans spent a year in making observations of "great value to the company." In Baltimore he established with his sons, the largest machine shop in the United States. This was in that era of domestic locomotive design and construction that succeeded the importation of English locomotives which were neither practicable, nor adaptable, to our curves and steep grades, but which did establish the standard gauge of 4′ 8½″ in general use in the United States today.

Evans Thomas closes with an urgent appeal to his brother to empower "your agents here" [68] to "order immediately an engine, as it will be doubtless hard to get one after the question [as to type] is settled." The highly technical subject of wheel design is then discussed in detail, and this very important letter closes with the admonition to "get more iron for rail."

"Mission[s] to Washington"

Fragments, Patrick Macaulay "Mission[s] to Washington," April 21, May 24, 1830 [No. 21]. (See comment with No. 15.)

Civil War Operations

Telegram, Edwin M. Stanton to John W. Garrett, May 5, 1864 [No. 22].

During the Civil War the Baltimore and Ohio became the most important factor, next to the army itself in the protection of Washington and the great commercial and manufacturing cities of the loyal states of the North. To protect this vital artery of traffic, or to disrupt its constant flow of men, munitions, and necessary equipment, the opposing forces were ever alert to seize whatever opportunities offered themselves for appropriate action. The chief obstacle in the way of complete domination of the railroad by the Confederate forces operating in the upper Virginia (and West Virginia) region, was the loyalty of those who were in control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Gen. U. S. Grant's plan of attack on Richmond in the Spring of 1864 included the drawing of Lee's forces eastward from the south banks of the Rapidan, toward Fredericksburg. The battle

[68] W. & J. Brown Co., Liverpool. See Letter No. 18 and *Niles Register*, XXXVII, 273.

of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House followed in May, 1864. It was very necessary to keep the lines open and provide for the necessary transportation of supplies and troops to the front, especially from the great sources of food and men in the Middle West.

Grant called on the War Department for Ohio troops to protect these lines. Secretary of War Stanton [69] sent the following telegram to Garrett:

Ohio troops are ordered to the line of your Rail road and Governor Brough has been requested to send them immediately.

John Brough [70] was, in every sense of the word, a "War governor." Although politically a Democrat, he advocated a united effort against "Southern Rebels." He was laborious, patriotic, and far-seeing in his methods. A former railroad president (the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, 1853) he had experience in the operational and transportation problem that could arise at any time in railroad conduct. The career of John W. Garrett,[71] war-time president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, is so well known to Marylanders, that his biography here would indeed be repetitious. In the annals of the Civil War history of the railroad, he will be chiefly remembered for his preservation of the road to the cause of the Union, and his loyalty to that end.

A Battle at the Monocacy

Letter, Samuel B. Lawrence to John W. Garrett, July 7, 1864 [No. 23].

General "Lew" Wallace [72] is probably better known to the present generation as the author of *Ben Hur* than as a Major General in the Union Army, but at the beginning of the Civil War he was already Adjutant General of Indiana and was soon made a brigadier of volunteers. He commanded a division at Fort Donelson, receiving a Major General's commission for gallantry. In 1863 he prevented the capture of Cincinnati by General Kirby Smith.

He took command of the 8th Army Corps and in July, 1864, met the Confederate forces under General Jubal Early, who were

[69] (1814-1869); see *D. A. B.*, XVIII, 517-521.
[70] (1811-1865); see *D. A. B.*, III, 94-95.
[71] (1820-1884); see *D. A. B.*, VII, 163-164.
[72] Lewis Wallace (1827-1905); see *D. A. B.*, XIX, 375-376.

marching on Washington. He was defeated by them at the Monocacy River, a few miles east of Frederick on July 9. It was a case of being completely outflanked by the forces under Early and being pushed back to Washington. For this action, General H. W. Halleck replaced Wallace with General E. O. C. Ord, but to his credit General Grant promptly reinstated Wallace.[73]

Some authorities state that Wallace succeeded in his object at the Monocacy, which was to give Grant time to reinforce Washington from City Point. Others, with equal vigor, claim Early had succeeded in that he had drawn reinforcements towards Washington, scared the town pink, destroyed many railroad and highway bridges and abstracted a levy of $220,000 in cash from the cities of Frederick and Hagerstown and Lee was satisfied with the results. However, the *Richmond Enquirer* of July 28, 1864, considered the expedition a complete failure.[74]

General Wallace's " despatch," quoted in the letter from Lawrence to Garrett, reads:

> A battle now taking place at Frederick with fair chance to whip the enemy. I shall hold this bridge. Hurry up the veterans just arrived with all despatch, let them all come at once if possible. Inform Mr. Garrett of my purpose as to the bridge.

[73] Though not of consequence in this article, it is of interest to note that General Edward Otho Cresap Ord (1818-1883) was born in Cumberland. His early years were spent in Washington, D. C.

[74] D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography* (New York, 1935), III, 459-461, and *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York, 1944), III, 568.

PATRICK CREAGH OF ANNAPOLIS

By Joy Gary

THIS is the story of Patrick Creagh and, through him, a story of the City of Annapolis in the relatively unexplored years from 1718 to 1761. This period precedes the enormously prosperous times immediately before the Revolution, but it was both a prelude to the later prosperity and, in itself, a formative era of activity. More active than most during these years was Patrick Creagh. The versatility of his interests is apparent in the records where he is variously described as painter, merchant, shipbuilder, farmer, mariner, contractor for the maintenance of His Majesty's forces, and, ultimately, gentleman. Creagh runs the gamut of skills that make a man important to his community and to his times. He seems, however, never to have held public office, and to have acquired debts as readily as he amassed assets. These two factors are, perhaps, responsible for his comparative anonymity in the years intervening since his death.

While his many activities will be touched on in this narrative, with the idea of characterizing a period as well as a man, the focal point will be his participation in the erection of public and private buildings in Annapolis, especially those still standing, still admired, but hitherto inconclusively assigned. Of these the largest, and most disastrous, was " Bladen's Folly," now McDowell Hall on the St. John's College campus, on which Creagh worked from the time of his January 28, 1742, agreement [1] with the then Governor, His Excellency Thomas Bladen, until the Lower House unanimously voted to disallow funds on June 4, 1747,[2] and work necessarily stopped.

The Old Treasury, oldest public building in Maryland and one of the oldest in the nation, was built by Patrick Creagh in 1735-

[1] Anne Arundel County Deeds, R. B. No. 3, f. 742, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Unless otherwise specified all further references are from Anne Arundel County and in the Hall of Records.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 462, 524.

1737 for the use of the newly (1733) created Commissioners for Emitting Bills of Credit, and known then as the Loan Office. Authority for this statement appears in the Proceedings of the Acts of Assembly [3] in which it is directed that Patrick Creagh be paid £587.9..5 for building this office and other necessary charges, including £30 for bricks. The correctness of this information has also been substantiated by Admiral Hill [4] and by Dr. Morris L. Radoff in his *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis.* The Old Treasury has recently been restored by the State and a new plaque has replaced a former one giving an earlier date. The sturdy simplicity of its architecture and the previous anonymity of its builder must have contributed to the widely, but erroneously, held belief that it was of even earlier construction.

Patrick Creagh almost certainly built his own house, now 160 Prince George Street, known locally as " Aunt Lucy's Bake Shop." He bought this lot, No. 95 on the plat of the City of Annapolis as it appears in Stoddert's 1718 survey, and also lots 98 and 99, from the heirs of Amos Garrett for the then going price for lots alone of £190 current money of Maryland in 1730, the deed being recorded in 1735.[5] The time lag was probably because the sellers were several and in faraway London. On June 5, 1747, the day after the final collapse of the " Bladen's Folly " project and possibly as a direct result of it, Creagh made his will [6] in which he leaves to his wife, Frances, " the lot and Dwelling House whereon I now live, with appurtenances thereon known by the Plat of the Town to be No. 95." The house, then, was built sometime between 1735, when negotiations for the land were completed, and 1747. Aunt Lucy, so the story goes, ran a bake shop here, but a receipted bill in the possession of the present owner, Mr. W. Clement Claude, to Mrs. Lucy Smith for thirteen days' hire of a cart from Daniel Fowler, is dated June 13, 1812, indicating a much later occupancy. Even so well known an authority as Elihu Riley says of this house, " Its exact date is lost in the misty clouds of age, but its appearance and ancient architecture mark it as one of the oldest in venerable Annapolis. . . . Many years ago there lived in it an ancient colored dame known as Aunt Lucy

[3] *Archives of Maryland*, XL, 30, 268, 269, 452.
[4] Harry W. Hill, *Maryland's Colonial Charm, Portrayed in Silver* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 66.
[5] R. D. 2, f. 216.
[6] Wills 31, f. 337.

Smith." [7] The misty clouds of age begin to dispel when one realizes that this was the home of Patrick Creagh, builder, at about the same time, of The Old Treasury, whose actual age has also all too consistently been pre-dated. And Patrick Creagh too long forgotten.

James Creagh, Patrick's grandfather, died in Kent County on the Eastern Shore in 1703, leaving an estate assessed at £4.17..10, consisting almost entirely of carpenter's tools and navigation instruments.[8] It would seem that he had come over from England, where the roots lead back, as a mariner. Patrick's parents were Patrick and Mary Creagh, and he must have been born in Kent County about 1697. Patrick Creagh, Sr., was a merchant there who first appears in the records as defendant in a suit brought by Stephen Creagh (possibly a relative), Michael Fuller, and Charles Beard of London. They testified that, on November 10, 1697, Creagh had contracted to send them good sound tobacco of the growth of this province in exchange for a cargo of European goods. The tobacco was to be to the full value of the cargo, at the market price quoted on arrival. They claimed to have consigned two such shipments but declared that his return loads fell far short. They sued for £350 plus damages. The case was closed after an Examiner's report that Patrick Creagh was indeed indebted to Beard & Co., but only by the sum of £7.03..9, " which he is ready to pay on demand." [9] From then until 1711, he was involved in a series of cases, both as plaintiff and defendant, and appears to have broken about even. One case, constantly continued, was struck off the record on February 5, 1711, because neither party showed up.[10] It is probable that Patrick, Sr., was dead by this time, and surely so before 1716, when one of the tangle of cases is a proceeding against Mary, his widow and Administrator.[11] Mary and her son, Patrick, may well have been in Annapolis by this time. Mary died here in 1718,[12] and her meagre accounting was turned in, after some official heckling, and with Gustavus Hessilius as surety, by Patrick, Jr., in 1720.[13] After

[7] Elihu Riley, *A History of Anne Arundel County* (Annapolis, 1905), p. 152.
[8] Inventories, WB, No. 3, f. 155.
[9] Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 3, ff. 665-669.
[10] Provincial Court Judgments, 22, f. 79.
[11] *Ibid.*, VD No. 2, ff. 138-139.
[12] St. Anne's Parish Records, January 17, 1718, f. 42.
[13] Testamentary Proceedings, 23, ff. 307, 322, and Liber 24, ff. 245, 263.

medicine, funeral expenses, and 9 shillings, 6 pence, to Dr. Charles Carroll, there remained just £8.10..11.[14]

On June 1, 1722, Patrick Creagh leased from Benjamin Tasker part of Lot 37, identified on Stoddert's survey of Annapolis as on Market Street, across from and slightly below the intersection of Shipwright. This consisted of 8,112 square feet " being at the End of the Garden Where the Said Benj.'s Dwelling house Did Lately Stand." The rent was 20 shillings a year for forty years if Creagh also built a house thereon forty feet long, with brick chimneys at each end. If he did not build, the rent would jump to 30 shillings, with the usual proviso that if he fell three months behind in rent, the deal was off. Either the sum or the whole idea was formidable to Patrick, or he had other plans. In any event, this became the first of the successively more serious defaults which seem so out of character with all other available facts about him. In December of the same year, Creagh borrowed £60 sterling money of Great Britain from Samuel Peale (also Piele) against the unexpired term of his lease.[15] This he was to pay back on or before two years from that date at Peale's house in London Town. The date came and went and " Pat Creagh have not Paid the sum of Sixty Pounds Sterling nor any part thereof." Peale foreclosed.[16] There was, however, by this time, a house on the property, presumably built by Creagh. In this document, Creagh's wife, Alice, relinquished her dower interest, proving this marriage of which there is no other record. He subsequently, sometime after 1735, married Frances, widow of Ralph Smith, " Taylor." [17] Alice, however, seems to have been the mother of his son, James, and daughter, Elizabeth, judging by their later proven ages. Frances was " with child " in 1731 when her first husband made his will, but his inventory, after his death in 1735, says he has no relatives in Maryland other than Frances, his beneficiary.[18]

Patrick Creagh's next recorded business deal is on March 11, 1730, when he had somehow, from a standing start, amassed the £190 current money of Maryland with which he bought the three lots 95, 98 and 99. He also, on July 29, 1735, hopefully petitioned, " I desire you will enter in my name the Ship Carpenter's lot and the Small Slip of Ground adjoining thereto, lying on the

[14] Accounts, 3, f. 196.
[15] RCW No. 2, ff. 99-101.
[16] SY No. 1, f. 90.
[17] Wills, 20, f. 479.
[18] Inventories, 21, f. 214.

South Side of Prince George Street, as it is not yet improved, and on which I delight to improve, and you will oblige, Your Humble Servant, Pat Creagh." [19] This naïve sounding request actually leads back and leaps forward into history. This site was given the City by Governor Nicholson as a shipyard and accepted, on June 6, 1719, by an Act of Assembly for this purpose, to revert if unused or the rent not paid up.[20] Certainly Creagh built ships here or on the adjoining land to the east which consisted of five and a half acres between Prince George Street and the water, known as "Creagh's Discovery" and patented to him on February 6, 1748.[21] The land itself is off the plat of the City of Annapolis, but near Creagh's home and nearer the Public Gaol he was commissioned to build about this time. Two Acts of Assembly, certified by B. Harwood, Treasurer for the Western Shore of Maryland, allowed Creagh five payments, the first three in 1738, the last two the following year, totalling £1500 for building the gaol (almost invariably spelled "goal").[22] Many years later title to Creagh's land was in dispute. The patent, original parchment of which is now in the Land Office, was either ignored or not known. Joseph Sands in 1822 deposed that the gaol had been on or near this land as long back as he could remember and was pulled down after the Revolution in 1786-1788.[23]

The crowning achievement of Creagh's career must surely have seemed to be the signing of the Articles of Agreement between His Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq., Governor of the Province, and Patrick Creagh, painter, on January 28, 1742.[24] The unhappy truth, however, was that this was the beginning of the building of the Governor's house, ultimately known as "Bladen's Folly" until St. John's College received its charter in 1784,[25] acquired and completed it, renaming it McDowell Hall after its first president. By the terms of the 1742 agreement, Patrick Creagh was to make and deliver to Bladen, or the Governor at the time, upon the hill behind Mr. Stephen Bordley's house where the Powder House formerly stood, 400,000 good and well-built bricks, by the

[19] Chancery Records 119, ff. 521-522, Land Office, Annapolis.
[20] *Ibid.*, ff. 512-513, Land Office.
[21] *Ibid.*, f. 62., Land Office.
[22] Chancery Records, 119, f. 521, Land Office.
[23] *Ibid.*, f. 508, Land Office.
[24] RB, No. 3, f. 742 ff.
[25] Tench F. Tilghman, "The Founding of St. John's College," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), 75.

last day of that October, in lots so that the Committee might approve them and workmen keep working. He also undertook to deliver 6,000 bushels of clear good lime, made of the best shells, at 8 pence a bushel as fast as it could be burned in the kills [kilns?] and sifted ready for use. The " Publick " was to pay £800, allowed by an Act of Assembly, for the bricks, £200 immediately upon Creagh's giving security for same, £300 on delivery of 200,000 bricks and £300 more on the remainder. For the lime he was to receive £200 in two equal payments.

The project apparently got underway on schedule but ran into difficulties soon thereafter. A bill from Creagh,[26] indicating that he did much more than merely supply bricks and lime, is dated September 22, 1744, but not recorded until May 21, 1747. It is for £629.12..5, itemized as follows: 47 foot of 1½" quartered pine plank, 39 foot of 2", 56 foot of Inch Oak scantling, the hauling of 35 pieces of large framing, tackle hooks, carriage or cart load, 2,445 bushels of lime, 220,000 stock and place bricks, and 11 days' work of Creagh's mason. Added to this is a notation on October 3, for 278 bushels of lime and, on January 9, for 36,900 stock and place bricks, 2 days' work of his team hauling large timber, 29 bolts and spikes and to carting 53 loads of ferris and stone nails. He seems to have done everything *except* paint. To all this Thomas Bladen attests, " I am persuaded the above amount is just but it is to be remembered that the sum of £499 is due the Publick from Mr. Creagh by virtue of a contract or Agreement with his present Excellency Samuel Ogle, as can be made to appear." [27] It has not yet appeared in the course of the present research, but the entire situation is noteworthy for several reasons. Primarily, it is of importance to know that both Thomas Bladen and his successor, Samuel Ogle, dealt directly with Patrick Creagh in so many details of the building of the Governor's house. It is also heart-warming to see Bladen, no longer Governor and the object of some derision for his part in the undertaking, continuing to press claims on Creagh's behalf. Earlier, on September 4, 1745, the *Archives* [28] include this plea from Bladen, " I send you the Account of what money I have received from the Paper Currency office, for the building of a Governor's House, what Disbursements have been made, and what remains due to my self and to Patrick Creagh."

[26] RB, No. 3, f. 743. [27] *Ibid.*, f. 242. [28] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 136.

Whether these finances were ever satisfactorily straightened out remains obscure, but the evidence seems against it. Patrick Creagh's final petition for payment was referred by the Upper House to the Lower House of the Assembly where it was unanimously disallowed, as were all further funds, on June 4, 1747, with the following fascinating indictment: [29]

> Your Committee further find, That several Bricks in the new House erected on the said Land for the use of the Governor for the Time being, are moulter'd and Decayed; and that there is a Crack in the wall of said House from the Bottom almost to the Top, in the Northeast corner thereof; That there is Round the outside of the said House a Quantity of Portland Stone, Bremen Stone, several Casks of Stucco and some wrought Country Stone; That within the Cellars of the Said House is a large Quantity of Shingles, which appear to lie on the bare Ground; and likewise some marble stone and Bremen Stone lying on the damp Ground, which last appear much Decayed; That there is a large Quantity of plank and scantling lying in great Danger of being spoiled, occasioned by the Rains coming through the Roof of the House; and that part of the sommers of the said House appears to be upon decay; Jews-Ears growing now out of the sides thereof.

It was after this report that it was somewhat understandingly resolved that T. Bladen

> hath not complied with the Directions of the Act entituled, An Act to enable his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq., or the Governor for the Time being, to purchase four acres of Land within the ffence of the City of Annapolis, for the use of the public; and to build thereon a Dwelling House and other Conveniences for the Residence of the Governor of Maryland. . . .

All this evidence, coupled with a lack of evidence on the other side seems to indicate that Patrick Creagh should receive much hitherto unmentioned credit, if credit it can be called, for the building of "Bladen's Folly." Simon Duff has more generally received this doubtful honor.[30] Certainly Duff did work on this and other contemporaneous buildings, but, without in the least wishing to detract from Simon's reputation, it still seems only fair to Creagh and to posterity to give the facts about him, direct from the records.

[29] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 524, 525.

[30] Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notices of Some of the Early Residents of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 258 ff. Mrs. Key was the daughter of Duff's friend, John Campbell, but only five years old when Simon Duff died.

Simon Duff was married to Johanna, widow of Saladine Eagle, when he bought from Benjamin Hammond and his wife, Sarah, Saladine's daughter and devisee, in September, 1734, for five shillings and as Johanna's dower right, the land her first husband owned at his death, and on which Simon and Johanna Duff had "until lately" lived. He was to retain timber rights to this tract, for the improvement of this property and his own house in town, for Johanna's lifetime.[31] When Patrick Creagh bought from Michael MacNamora, on November 14, 1739, "all the land formerly belonging to Robert Eagle, Saladine Eagle and Robert Eagle, Jr., all deceased," 200 acres then in the tenure of Simon Duff were excepted.[32] "Symon Duff and Hannah, his wife" also appear in the records in 1734,[33] presenting some matrimonial confusion. A notice inserted in the *Maryland Gazette* on May 24, 1745, for "Quilting Work of all kinds performed at the subscriber's House in Annapolis, in the best and newest Manner, as cheap as in London; by a Person from England brought up in the said Business" shows that he lived in the city at that time, but must later have moved back to the country if depositions taken in 1759-1761 can be trusted. These depositions, after his death, are actually the source of most of the first-hand information about Simon Duff.[34]

At some point Simon Duff took on a housekeeper, known affectionately as "Nannie," and also as the mother of his daughter, Mary, and son, Daniel. Mary married Samuel Meade (or Moad) before Duff's death, and Daniel, a minor, was apprenticed by his father just before he died, in 1759, to John Campbell for seven years "to Learn his Art, Mystery or Trade of a Taylor." No will was found immediately after Duff's death, but in December, 1759, Samuel Meade alerted a neighbor, and subsequently all officialdom, that he had found Simon's original will in his own writing, stuck in a desk drawer. It had been, Meade declared, duly witnessed by Elizabeth McLeod and John Riatt, both by then deceased, but the will was never probated.

This set off the controversy that provides an extraordinarily clear contemporary portrait of Simon Duff. In the purported will,

[31] RD No. 2, f. 164.
[32] RD No. 3, f. 242.
[33] IB No. 1, f. 225. Presumably "Hannah" is "Johanna."
[34] Testamentary Papers, Box 58 folder 11.

Simon Duff, carpenter, leaves his estate equally to his two children, and £3 current money to Ann Clark ("Nannie") as long as she remains single. A silver tea pot seems to have been the only tangible bequest of value. The main point appears to be recognition of Mary Meade as her father's heir-at-law and her husband as Administrator. Samuel Meade so petitioned and was answered by Duff's friend, John Campbell, who declared that he and Robert Swan, Duff's attorney, had searched the house, and the desk, so thoroughly, and to no avail, that the will could not have been in it then or later. Campbell also stated categorically that he did not believe any of the signatures authentic. Depositions were subsequently taken from Robert Swan, who agreed with Campbell and stated further that Duff was "so Diffident and really ignorant of Wills and even in affairs wherein he might be supposed to have Knowledge that he could never undertake the Writing of a Will without consulting his friends." Neighbors Richard and Rachel Moss testified that Duff was an overseer on the highway a week before his death, that they had talked with him and he had joked about not having a will. Nannie, in spite of the fact that she stood to disinherit herself, said that on a trip to town this same week before his death, Simon went to see Swan about making a will, but Swan was busy so he left, assuring Nannie that he would try again the next time he went to Annapolis. Hugh McLeod declared that it could not be Simon Duff's signature, being too steady, "his hand having shook for several years before his Death." The writing, in all faith, looks shaky and almost illiterate, but not bad enough, it appears, to convince those who knew him best that it was Simon Duff's. The signatures of Elizabeth McLeod and John Riatt were also challenged on good authority. The upshot was that John Ridout, Commissioner General, ruled the will "Suppositious and a Forgery." John Campbell, appointed by the Court, proceeded with the settling of Duff's accounts [35] and his inventory that came to £266.1..0, including considerable left-over lumber.[36] Throughout this testimony runs a feeling of sympathy and friendship for Duff who was clearly an amiable man, with the all-too-human habit of procrastination, and very little business sense. In stature and material

[35] Accounts, 59, f. 341.
[36] Inventories, 75, f. 305, and 78, f. 154.

achievement, he hardly seems to compare with the more ornery, but unquestionably able, Patrick Creagh.

The signing of the Articles of Agreement with Governor Bladen seems to have had another immediate result. On May 22, 1742, Patrick Creagh and John Brice jointly purchased Swan Neck [37] on the north side of the Severn River for £40 sterling money of Great Britain, consisting of 250 acres, with timber and quarries. In November of the same year, Creagh bought out Brice's half.[38] It looks as though Brice had, in effect, staked his neighbor to this source of raw materials for building. It is of further interest because Brice's own house, now 195 Prince George Street, was, according to Arthur Trader, built about this time.[39] He calls it the "first Brice house in America," and dates it 1737-1739, presenting as extra evidence the fact that John Brice once owned a plantation across the Severn where bricks, made of local clay, were burned, and had in his service at the time of his death an indentured carpenter presumed capable of having done the work. Certainly the house was not on the lot when Brice bought it from the heirs of Amos Garrett for £55 in 1737, but it is the house described in his inventory in which he and his constantly increasing family lived, and which he left by will to his wife, Sarah. As to its date and builder, there is another possibility. Might not the plantation have been Swan Neck and Patrick Creagh the builder of this Brice House, at the time he was under contract to Bladen and in a sort of partnership with Brice. Or perhaps Brice was willing to go into partnership with Creagh in 1742 because he had already worked with him in the earlier construction of Brice's own house, or on the basis of the workmanship apparent in Patrick Creagh's house across Prince George Street.

In addition to the contract to build the Governor's House, payment for The Old Treasury and the "Goal," Creagh crops up periodically on the payroll for other public buildings. For instance, in March, 1743, it is ordered that he be paid £95 for building the Brick Magazine and for 60 square feet of ground.[40] During the years 1740 to 1746, he had a profitable source of income in maintaining on "shoar," and transporting to bases in

[37] RB, No. 1, f. 217.
[38] *Ibid.*, f. 219.
[39] In an article in the possession of W. Clement Claude, Annapolis.
[40] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 587.

the West Indies, officers and men of His Majesty's forces.[41] These charter operations presuppose control of ships and stores, and probably also a handsome profit; some of the sums voted him seem prodigious. An advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette*, on August 23, 1745, over his name, indicates that his ships did not return empty-handed from these missions: "To Be Sold; By the Subscriber, good Barbadoes Rum, Muscavado Sugar, good large fresh lymes; also good French brandy by wholesale or retail. Likewise good French claret and 2 likely young negro men, as also good ship-bread." Creagh seems to have had a well-developed faculty for getting a finger in every pie.

Through these years, too, he increased his holdings to include Covell's Folly, a 500-acre tract, "lying on the flat Creek branches of the South River nearest to the Head of the River,"[42] 3⅓ acres of Governor Nicholson's ex-Vineyard in the "Publick Pasture," with buildings, keys, wharfs, profits, and commodities.[43] In an indenture, recorded September 26, 1746, he bought from the numerous heirs of Amos Garrett 120 acres known as "Todd's Range," situated at the head of Dorsey Creek outside the gate of the City of Annapolis.[44] When he later mortgaged this, it had on it a good brick house, quite possibly built by Creagh, but no longer in existence. He also, by then, owned Lot 97 in the City, next to his own, during the lifetime of Charles Crooke.[45] Creagh rented, and may have built, the house on this property, which, geographically, might be the present Patterson house, the last on the north side of Prince George Street. Lots 98 and 99 would thus be approximately the site of the Navy football field, fronting on Prince George Street.

In February, 1748, as aforesaid, he received by patent "Creagh's Discovery," five and a half acres at the foot of Prince George Street, near the gaol, and running to the water.[46] This land, apparently happily used by Creagh as a shipyard, was sold by his son-in-law to James Williams with certain reservations on the value of the title, so that Williams, to protect his investment, also paid rent to the City Corporation for a while, then balked and it became the subject of a long-drawn-out controversy. The case was finally disposed of by a Court of Appeals decision in 1825 which

[41] *Ibid.*, 57, 157, 297.
[42] RD No. 2, f. 57.
[43] RB No. 1, f. 274.
[44] RB No. 2, f. 270.
[45] RB No. 1, f. 275.
[46] Chancery Records, 119, f. 62 *ff.*, Land Office.

ruled, for the City against the heirs of James Williams, that rent was due, with interest for all those intervening years.[47] One interesting thing evolves, however, from the reading of this case: Richard Maccubbin, Creagh's son-in-law, built a street through this property and called it Creagh's Street,[48] and it was so known as late as August, 1784.[49] From a study of the plat, it would seem to be the present Craig Street, flanking the A & P super market in Annapolis. Such is fame!

From 1749 to 1751, Creagh acquired considerable County acreage, including " Chance " on a branch of Curtis Creek,[50] 33 acres near Beard's Creek,[51] and another tract on the south side of South River,[52] in addition to 80 acres on Acton's Creek " near Mr. Bordley's land called Sangate and known as Brushey Neck." [53]

On the record, James Creagh played a brief but vital part in his father's life. He appears first in October, 1748, as the purchaser, and thus of legal age, of 177 acres in Anne Arundel County between the Patuxent River and Patapsco Falls, called " Howard's Chance." [54] On September 27, 1751, James Creagh, mariner, of London, then in Maryland, bought 25 acres from John Barnes on the east side of Browne's River of Patuxent.[55] It was surmised that the original James Creagh was a mariner from London; his great-grandson's reversion strengthens this supposition. It is also intriguing to find only James mentioned in *Anne Arundel County Gentry* and only because he bought this property, " Barnes' Luck " and " Creagh's Inlargement."

James lived in London, but was often in Maryland as commander of his father's ships carrying tobacco on consignment, and, presumably, return loads of European goods in a trade similar to that of the earlier Patrick. Notices appear from 1751 to 1754 that James Creagh, Commander of the *Hanbury* or the *Charming Molly* will take tobacco to London at £7 sterling a ton.[56] At least one return load caused him some trouble when a certain James Anderson sued for his freedom, and won, claiming that he had been kidnapped in England and delivered here as a servant.[57] In September, 1754, Patrick Creagh sold to Daniel Chamier and John

[47] Harris & Johnson, 6, 434 *ff.*
[48] Chancery Records, 119, Land Office.
[49] NH 2, f. 123.
[50] RB No. 3, f. 307.
[51] *Ibid.*, f. 328.
[52] *Ibid.*, f. 399.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, f. 61.
[55] *Ibid.*, f. 422.
[56] *Ibid.*, ff. 621, 644, 385.
[57] ISB, No. 2, f. 99.

Carnan for £800 sterling money of Great Britain "all that good ship Hanbury of 200 tons or thereabouts now at anchor at the mouth of the Severn River under James Creagh's command and now bound out to London, with all masts, sails, yards, ropes, anchors, cables, boats, and tackle." [58] On July 9, 1755, appears the startling announcement that "I, Patrick Creagh, commander of the Snow Endeavour will take tobacco to London on consignment to Mr. Thomas Flowerdene and Norton or any other merchant at £7 a ton sterling." [59] Creagh was by this time an old man for such a strenuous jaunt. James now disappears from the story and must be either dead or banished. Much later his sister, Elizabeth Maccubin, and his widow, Hannah, of London, share the final proceeds of the sale of his Maryland property.[60]

The last reference to James himself is on May 23, 1754, when he went surety for the executors of the estate of Rowland Carnan.[61] He was also very much alive in April of that year when, on the 16th of that month, he witnessed his father's signature on the most important and appalling document of his whole eventful life, a document which Patrick subsequently treated with his usual unconcern over unpleasant pieces of paper, but one which had far-reaching results.

How Patrick Creagh incurred a debt in London in 1753, equal to his then considerable holdings in Maryland, cannot be ascertained conclusively by existing records so far revealed on this side of the Atlantic. The most reasonable explanation seems to be that it was in some way connected with the tobacco trade and his son, James. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the creditors were agents of a tobacco firm, and that the only noticeable effort Creagh made toward raising money for settlement of this debt, except for mortgaging the rest of his property some time later to an ubiquitous Charles Carroll,[62] was the sale of the *Hanbury* out from under James' command. Whatever the cause, the result was potentially devastating. In an indenture, recorded September 11, 1754,[63] Patrick Creagh staked almost everything he owned against a debt of £1800 sterling money of Great Britain,

[58] RB, No. 3, f. 707.
[59] BB No. 1, f. 71.
[60] IB No. 3, ff. 320-323, 326.
[61] Testamentary Proceedings, 26, f. 187.
[62] BB No. 2, f. 1.
[63] Provincial Court, IE, 9B, f. 486 ff., Land Office.

with legal interest from March 29, 1753, to William Tower Bartholemew and Joseph Janson, assignees of John Philpot and John Hutchinson, late of London, Bankrupts. Listed were the dwelling house and Lot 95, part of Lot 96, the Brewhouse and 3½ acres of Governor Nicholson's Vineyard, Swan Neck, Todd's Range (with the good brick house thereon), part of Brushey Neck, the schooner *Speedwell*, and four negro men. As recovery, he was to pay £360 sterling, with interest, each August 1, for five years. He was permitted to sell any of this property in order to meet the payments, provided ten days' notice was given Pomeroy and Janson, and all money thus realized was to be paid over to them. As events subsequently disclosed, no part of this money was ever paid by Creagh, or, until the final settlement of his estate, by anyone else.[64] He, nevertheless, continued to live in his dwelling house, and, for all practical purposes, to own and work the county land. It is hard to tell whether Patrick Creagh was arrogant or lucky; he was not stupid.

His affairs, however, were on a descending scale. In April, 1756, Patrick Creagh and his wife, Frances, sold to Richard and Elizabeth Maccubbin, the house on Lot 24 [65] in the City of Annapolis, which Frances had inherited from her first husband,[66] and which was presumably razed to make way for the present Ridout House. It is not inconceivable to suppose that Creagh built this house sometime between 1731 when the lot was purchased and the death, in 1735, of its owner, whose widow Creagh married.

On May 6, 1757, Creagh mortgaged his remaining property to Charles Carroll against a debt of £230 sterling and £60 current money. This included Lots 98 and 99, the rest of the slaves, an indentured servant, and the family silver, chief of which bore the Creagh arms or crest.[67] After Creagh's death, his son-in-law, Richard Maccubbin, picked up this mortgage,[68] building his own house, now gone, on the lots and, it is hoped, rescuing the family silver, which, in the natural course of events, should still be in the possession of the Creagh-Maccubbin descendants, now represented in many County families of note.

[64] Testamentary Proceedings, 38, f. 135.
[65] BB No. 1, f. 229.
[66] Wills, 20, f. 479.
[67] BB, No. 2, f. 1.
[68] BB, No. 2, f. 468.

More trouble was in store for Patrick Creagh, testified to by an announcement in the *Maryland Gazette*, on June 28, 1759, that there would be exposed to public sale, to the highest bidder, on July 31, 1759,

> a Lot or Parcel of Ground containing about Three Acres, lying on the Severn River and contiguous to North East Street in the New Town of Annapolis; on which said Lot or Parcel of Ground are the following Improvements, viz: A large Brick Brew-House, a Brick Dwelling-House, one Story high with two Rooms and a Passage on the Lower Floor, a small Frame House all now in the Possession of Mr. Patrick Creagh, and also a small Brick House now made use of by the Province as a Magazine for Powder. . . .

Unless this is the 3⅓ acres of Governor Nicholson's Vineyard with the Brew House on it that he acquired from Bridgett Donaldson, in 1742,[69] and mortgaged in 1754,[70] its source is, at present, unidentifiable. He certainly did provide the Province with 60 square feet of ground on which to build the Brick Magazine.[71]

The ascendant and descending curve of the life of Patrick Creagh is now very nearly complete. He died in 1760, leaving behind a marvelously tangled mass of debts, but also the tangible assets of his public and private building.[71a] Most conclusively proved, and for the first time, in the history of "Aunt Lucy's Bake Shop," the story of which has a fairy tale ending. Built by Patrick Creagh, it was mortgaged by him, along with other properties, in 1754. When it was put up for sale to satisfy the long-standing debt, Thomas Rutland, himself a builder, immediately obtained a sort of option by the payment of five shillings and the promise to pay one peppercorn on demand at the end of the year.[72] In an indenture recorded September 28, 1762, Rutland bought in the premises for £350 as the highest bidder.[73] The fairy tale twist is that Rutland later ran into financial difficulties from which he was at least partially rescued by Patrick Creagh's grandson, John Creagh Maccubbin.

[69] RB No. 1, f. 274.
[70] Provincial Court, IE, 9B, f. 486, Land Office.
[71] *Archives of Maryland*, XLII, 587.
[71a] The published obituary reads, "Monday Night [Dec. 22, 1760] last Died here, after a few Days illness, Mr. *Patrick Creagh*, Merchant, who had long been a very useful, industrious, and honest inhabitant of this City." *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1760.
[72] DD No. 2, f. 206, Land Office.
[73] DD No. 2, f. 210, Land Office.

John Creagh was the oldest son of Richard Maccubbin and, with his mother, Elizabeth, Patrick's daughter, co-executor of his father's will and considerable estate,[74] when, on January 5, 1786, he bought the house and Lot 95 from Thomas Rutland for £2,000 current money.[75] This was a healthy sum, not only in view of previous transactions, but also in the light of real estate values almost up to the present time. It is fairly obvious that the figure was arrived at partly to alleviate Rutland's then enormous indebtedness to the Maccubbins, but perhaps also because of family sentiment for the original Creagh house. The fact that the Maccubbins then lived in their own much larger house nearby, on Lots 98 and 99,[76] and that it was shortly after that that Aunt Lucy took over, indicates that the deal was more propitious than necessary. Aunt Lucy, or her mother, may even have been originally part of the prosperous Maccubbin household and this house, in effect, the servants' quarters.

It seems quite evident that Richard Maccubin discovered the extent of his father-in-law's financially fatal debts only after Creagh's death. He certainly set about straightening things out with admirable dispatch and business acumen. What must have been expected to be a substantial estate, in surety for £1800 sterling[77] (a macabre coincidence since this was the sum of the original debt), turned out to be almost nothing at all. Creagh's Inventory[78] reads like that of a relatively poor man, although a self-reliant one with tools for a score of trades. Ear trumpets indicate that he was deaf, but he must have been exceptionally healthy for his age if he really made that trip to London six years before his death. He had worked hard and prospered. In theory, he had lost it all, although actually he retained physical possession until he died, and, although it took many years, his son-in-law was able to absolve the estate of the entire indebtedness,[79] largely by the logical solution Creagh himself scorned to use—selling his land to meet the payments on the mortgage, and to pay off the mortgage itself.

[74] Wills, EV, No. 1, f. 100.
[75] NH 2, f. 376.
[76] See 73.
[77] Testamentary Proceedings, 38, f. 135.
[78] Inventories, 76, ff. 82-89.
[79] Accounts, 61, f. 361. Also WD, No. 5, f. 361, and Box 66, folder 42.

There are contradictions in any later-day construction of the character of Patrick Creagh, but hardly cause for contradiction of the fact that he played an important, too long forgotten, part in the early building of Annapolis, and in nearly every aspect of contemporary Colonial life. It is to be hoped that this, and further research, will help determine his exact role, and bring posthumous credit where, and always if, credit is due.

THE JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY MANUSCRIPTS

By LLOYD W. GRIFFIN *

SOME months before his death in 1870, John Pendleton Kennedy added a codicil to his will containing the following instructions for the disposition of his private papers:

> I . . . give to the [Peabody] Institute my several bound volumes of the Manuscripts of my printed works which I have preserved in the original manuscript copies as also my two bound volumes of Autograph Letters which have been written to me. These I give to the Institute with a special request that they be carefully preserved as a testimony of my interest in its success. . . .
>
> It is my wish that the manuscript volumes containing my journals, my note or commonplace books, and the several volumes of my own letters in Press copy, as also all my other letters (which I desire to be bound in volumes) that are now in loose sheets, shall be . . . packed away in a strong walnut box, closed and locked, and then delivered to the Peabody Institute to be preserved by them unopened until the Year Nineteen Hundred, when the same shall become the property of the Institute to be kept amongst its books and records.

Kennedy's requirements were met. Thirty years later over 130 manuscript volumes, including the original manuscripts and drafts of his own published works, were made available to all serious inquirers. The sheer bulk of the collection would make it an important addition to 19th century Baltimoreana; however, the breadth of Kennedy's interests, his achievements in the fields of literature, politics, business, and public service, and the range and significance of his correspondence combine to form a surprisingly complete panorama of a vital fifty-year segment of American history as it affected a Marylander.

With a few notable exceptions, the art of collecting and pre-

* The Peabody Institute Library, one of the great research libraries of the Nation, does not collect manuscripts but does possess the papers of Kennedy, its first president. The author, at the request of the editors, wrote this article while Reference Librarian at the Peabody Institute Library.—*Ed.*

serving one's private effects for posterity has now been lost, perhaps because a sense of significance has disappeared, more probably because of the lack of leisure. Kennedy's effort to record his activities, his opinions, and his acquaintanceships, therefore, is the more surprising to us today since it reveals in minute detail a variety of experience almost unbelievable in scope.

Like the younger Richard Henry Dana, whom in many respects of temperament and interests he resembles, Kennedy is usually remembered solely for a restricted body of literary works. But how much more he was to his contemporaries can be gauged quite accurately by an inspection of the Kennedy Papers. The manuscripts reveal him as a soldier at Bladensburg and North Point, a lawyer, a member of the legislatures of Maryland and the United States, a manufacturer and financier, an investment counsellor, a patron of letters and father confessor to Edgar Allan Poe, a benefactor of science and the leading supporter of Samuel F. B. Morse and his electromagnetic telegraph; an influential political figure in the Whig Party, Secretary of the Navy at the time of Perry's expedition to Japan, Provost of the University of Maryland; President of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Institute and the virtual founder of the Library; an important member of the Maryland Historical Society. The variety of rôles is almost infinite.

Kennedy's circle of friends and acquaintances was large and included at one time or another many of the major figures of the period in America and abroad. Here again the problem of enumerating them as they appear in his writings and correspondence is not one of scarcity but of superfluity. His literary work brought him into contact with Irving, N. P. Willis, Poe, Cooper, John Esten Cooke, Philip Pendleton Cooke, Peter Hoffman Cruse, David Hoffman, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Paulding, Simms, Prescott, Dickens, Thackeray, W. S. Landor, Lever, Samuel Rogers, and G. P. R. James, while his participation in civil affairs made him acquainted with Taylor, Fillmore, Buchanan, Webster, Clay, Robert C. Winthrop, Benton, Sir Edward Bulwer, Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, Cass, Bancroft, and many others. To all his friends he was known as a *bon vivant* and a favorite host, either at his town house in Baltimore or in the little summer cottage on the Patapsco at Ellicott's Mills.

The first important segment of the Kennedy Collection at the

Peabody Library is the thirty-five volume set of journals covering roughly the forty-year period from 1829 to 1869. Here are the day to day jottings of a busy and influential man, but—significantly—a man who could appraise the importance of events as they occurred.

The progress of the dispute over slavery, for example, is here related with a clarity and lack of bias well-nigh unique in the fierce partisanship of the time. Kennedy deplored the fanaticism of the Abolitionists, yet even his family ties with the South could not shake his belief in the Union. The journals record the dispute between states' rights and federalism from the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso through the Election of 1860 and the Civil War into the Reconstruction Period. Typical is a brief passage from the entry of Sunday, April 14, 1861, on the surrender of Fort Sumter:

> The capitulation of Fort Sumter is complete. The vessels sent to its relief have been useless,—the expedition a miserable failure. The South is wild with joy in the Secession States. They talk of reducing Fort Pickens at Pensacola and then marching to Washington. We are likely to have war in earnest.[1]

In addition to the primary series of journals, covering the period from 1829 to 1869, there are seventeen supplemental volumes detailing such activities as a tour to the White Mountains of New Hampshire in 1833, a trip on railroad business to Richmond with Louis McLane and Spear Nicholas in 1838, travel in Canada in 1847 and in the United States in 1848, three journal series on European travel in 1856, 1857, and 1866-1868, and, finally, a visit to Cuba in 1865-1866. Reflective, analytic, searching, humorous, Kennedy's journals record at once seemingly trivial minutiae and the momentous events of a troublous era in American history. Portions of the volumes have been published, yet the main body of materials remains largely untouched.

The second great source of general historical and literary materials is the collection of thirty-four volumes of letters both by and to Kennedy from 1812 to the year of his death, 1870. The main seventeen-volume series of letters to Kennedy is alphabetically arranged.[2] Supplemental volumes, however, are arranged

[1] "Journals," XII, 266.

[2] Among the correspondents are Agassiz, Nathan Appleton, Bancroft, Beecher,

chronologically. These include a volume of letters from schoolfellows; Maryland and Virginia friends such as Sinclair, Pennington, Cruse, Howard, Prince, C. J. Walsh, John Strother, and Jerome Bonaparte; and Kennedy's own relatives, dated from 1812 to 1832. Bound in is the earliest of the Kennedy letters at the Peabody Library written to his uncle Philip C. Pendleton, of Martinsburg, Virginia, just after the Battle of Bladensburg:

Baltimore August 29th 1814

Dear Uncle

In consequence of the alarm in this place my mother has thought it adviseable [*sic*] to send the children off to Martinsburg. We are all here under a confirmed apprehension of the approach of the British army, and I am sure we will not yield without a severe struggle. Great preparations are making for their reception. No inhabitant of the city is idle.—I have just returned from Bladensburg with the remnant of our army—pretty much fatigued—and disposed to think more highly of British regulars.—The particulars of the action are everywhere in print, and I can add nothing more of what I heard or saw. General Ross is very much esteemed in our army for his kind and generous treatment to our prisoners: we are well assured that no outrages will be permitted while he has the command.—We are all well here and in good spirits—I do not suppose my mother will leave town unless it is attacked.

Yours

[signed] John P. Kennedy [3]

"Letters, 1838-53," miscellaneous items addressed to Kennedy, are followed by two volumes of correspondence from his Philadelphia, New York, and Boston publishers, dating from 1832 to 1870, concerned with the various editions of his works. In these letters may be seen some of the problems, concerns, and machinery of 19th century book publishing and primary evidence of the relationship between author and publisher.

Park Benjamin, Jerome N. Bonaparte, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, H. M. Brackenridge, Buchanan, Calhoun, Carlyle, Rufus Choate, T. H. Chivers, Clay, John Esten Cooke, Jefferson Davis, Dickens, E. Everett, Fillmore, Greeley, R. W. Griswold, Fitz Greene Halleck, David Hoffman, Holmes, Baron von Humboldt, Irving, Reverdy Johnson, Elisha Kent Kane, Charles Kean, Chancellor James Kent, Landor, the Comte de Lasteyrie du Saillant, J. H. B. Latrobe, Abbott Lawrence, R. E. Lee, H. S. Legaré, Lever, Francis Lieber, Macaulay, Madison, John Marshall, Brantz Mayer, Motley, John Neal, Sir Richard Pakenham, J. K. Paulding, George Peabody, Commodore Perry, William Pinkney, Poe, Prescott, G. P. Putnam, Samuel Rogers, Winfield Scott, Catherine M. Sedgwick, Seward, Silliman, Simms, E. D. E. N. Southworth, E. M. Stanton, A. H. Stephens, D. H. Strother, Taney, Zachary Taylor, Thackeray, J. L. A. Thiers, Gulian Verplanck, S. T. Wallis, Webster, N. P. Willis, R. C. Winthrop, and William Wirt.

[3] "Letters to Schoolfellows," [1].

The letters by Kennedy himself in press copy are a mine of largely unexplored material valuable for its political, social, and literary content. The five-volume series from Kennedy to his wife Elizabeth provides an intimate view of life in and out of Baltimore from 1828 to 1863. But it is the six-volume series of letters to various addressees from 1846 to 1870 which reveals Kennedy's participation in the affairs of his time on local, state, and national levels. Here are the letters to Poe, Simms, Irving, Prescott, "Black Dan" Webster, Fillmore, Taylor, and others of intellectual, political, and literary prominence. Kennedy here struggles intelligently and bodly against the chain of circumstances which resulted, in spite of his efforts to effect a rapprochement, in the Civil War. In all, the last six volumes of Kennedy's own letters total 3,319 manuscript pages. This series is now partially indexed. When completed the index should provide a most useful tool for those interested in the history and culture of the mid-19th century and in the position of Baltimore as a cultural and literary center.

Another valuable portion of the Kennedy collection is that containing literary materials and manuscripts. Here are to be found, first of all, the manuscript versions of Kennedy's published works: *Swallow Barn, Horse-Shoe Robinson, Rob of the Bowl, Quodlibet, A Defense of the Whigs*, the *Life of Wirt, The Border States,* the *Ambrose Letters,* and *At Home and Abroad.* The *Swallow Barn* manuscript, in particular, contains interesting preliminary drafts which reveal Kennedy's methods of composition and correction, and several sheets of pencil drawings by the author himself giving a representation of the Virginia plantation house as he visualized it.

A small red line-stamped calf notebook records the meetings and members of an early Baltimore social and literary organization, the Monday Club.[4] The first meeting, at Kennedy's house in Mount Vernon Place, March 18, 1835, was held to initiate a weekly gathering of the gentlemen of the city. The meeting place was to revolve each time, the host to provide a modest supper of no more than two dishes and little wine, "relying upon whiskey punch as the staple." Present at the first meeting were George Calvert, H. H. Hayden, Gorham Brooks, Charles Howard, Josias

[4] An article on the Monday Club, based on this volume, will appear in this journal in 1954.—*Ed.*

Pennington, John S. Skinner, and Philip Pendleton Kennedy. John Pendleton Kennedy lists Dr. Robert Dunglison as present, but later notes, "Upon reflection I find that I am mistaken in saying that Dunglison was there. He got only half way, where, (the night being dark and tempestuous) he stuck fast in the mud, and when he extricated himself, for fear of further mishap he went home." Later members included Robert Gilmor, J. H. B. Latrobe, John and David Hoffman, Richard Steuart, Benjamin C. Howard, and Archbishop Eccleston. The record stops with the entry for October 26, 1840.

The "Catalogue of the Library of Hon. John P. Kennedy" enumerates Kennedy's private collection of books, numbering 5,188 volumes by 1863. Here is an excellent example of a "gentleman's library" of which a contemporary European might well have been proud. Besides the works of philosophy, religion, classical and English literature, science, and history, making up the backbone of the collection, there are numerous items of American fiction, among them three books by Hawthorne, fourteen by Irving, seven by Cooper, six by Simms, and—surprisingly enough—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[5] Most of the books, autographed by Kennedy, were willed to the Peabody Library and may still be consulted.

"My Books," an eighteen-page pamphlet, is Kennedy's unfinished attempt to formulate a classification scheme for this library, utilizing the three Baconian headings: memory, judgment, and imagination.

Of interest as specimens of Kennedy's method of literary craftsmanship are a number of volumes, similar to Hawthorne's *American* and *English Notebooks,* containing hints and notes for stories and essays. Many of them exhibit a gothic element and a marked similarity to Irving's short tales. One in particular, "The Story of the Dismal Mill," is a blend of the grisly and the humorous:

[5] Of Mrs. Stowe's masterpiece, Kennedy wrote his friend Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts: "Our ladies have read Uncle Tom: I have only looked into it. They like it. I perceive it to be one of that class of books which written by a skillful hand, may excite any amount of feeling against any institution by aggregating all its evils in one series of adventures. It may be all drawn faithfully from facts—but there is falsehood in presenting the story as a characteristic picture of *common incidents*. To be true they ought to be described as *uncommon*. . . . [This kind of presentation] is unfair, in every case—but it is positively mischievous in the slave case, because it ministers to a very wicked agitation of the day." Letter of June 3, 1852, in "Letters, December 22, 1851, to May 19, 1853," pp. 29-30.

A haunted mill, that had once been the scene of some dreadful tragedy. The Miller described—Archy Backbent a disorderly savage mysterious man who is supposed in a fit of passion to have thrown his child into the hopper—and baked her in a loaf for his wife's supper—[6]

Other fragmentary plots and jottings include "The Mysterious Dinner," "Traveller's Stories of South America," "The Man of the Mountain," and "The Spear of Ithuriel."

Further tools of the writing or literary trade are several notebooks of extracts and quotations from the Bible, Tacitus, Aristotle, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Dryden, La Rochefoucauld, Thomson, Shelley, and others. In addition, there are manuscript notes on Wirt, Calvert, religion, state sovereignty, states' rights, the many political questions of the day, and on a politico-historical work Kennedy planned to write on the American colonies just prior to the Revolution, but which he never completed.

The titles of some of his manuscript drafts of essays and speeches indicate the breadth of his interests: "A Legend of Maryland," [7] "Progress," "History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," "The U. S. Exploring Expedition," "Baltimore Long Ago," "Chronicles of Baltimore," "Ethos," "The B. & O. Rail Road," "Chapter on Democracy," "Mesmerism," "Animal Magmetism," and "Thoughts on the Rebellion."

Besides these manuscript drafts, some of which were never revised and published, the collection contains several scrapbooks of newspaper articles and other ephemera prepared by or dealing with Kennedy. Here too are the contemporary reviews and critical opinions of his books.

Finally, the portion of the Kennedy Collection comprising literary materials and manuscripts contains several autobiographical items, some of which are transcribed in the Tuckerman biography of Kennedy.[8]

The fourth major section of the Collection—eleven volumes of newspaper clippings—makes available a carefully gathered and collated body of political, economic, and social data on Maryland and America in the 1840's, 50's and 60's.

"The History of the doings of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road

[6] "Hints, Ideas for Stories and Essays," unpaged.

[7] "Finally written out . . . and published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, in July-Aug., 1862 [i. e., 1860]."

[8] Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871).

and how it come to pass that the road was not made to Pittsburgh" records the defeat of Kennedy's long struggle to finance the extension of the Baltimore and Ohio westward to connect with the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad Company.

Several volumes concern the policies of the Whig Party and its opponents; one, the fiscal and monetary problems current in 1840 and the dispute over state banks; another, the tariff, free trade, the "Pet Bank" system, and the public debt, in 1844; and a third, a political fence-mending tour of the South with Millard Fillmore in 1854.

Two volumes compiled by Kennedy in 1866-1867 while in Europe to attend the Universal Exposition at Paris give current English and French views on the exposition, on contemporary literature, and on American policies and problems as seen through European eyes.

Finally, "The Great Rebellion" contains newspaper excerpts—largely from Baltimore papers—dating from the attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, to November, 1865. Here are reported the surrender of Sumter, the secession of Virginia, the Baltimore Riot of 1861, the imprisonment of S. Teackle Wallis for alleged treasonable sympathies with the Confederacy, European impressions of the war, news from the South, and English violations of neutrality.

There are in addition two minor sections in the Collection, consisting of notes and miscellaneous items. One volume contains Kennedy's memoranda and memorabilia while Secretary of the Navy in 1852; and another, his notes on the International Commission on Weights and Measures and Money, held at Paris in 1867, and on the Exposition Universelle of the same year, to which he was one of the United States Commissioners.

Among the miscellanea are two volumes of business memoranda, dating from 1846 to 1870; Kennedy's personal legal and financial papers; both the manuscript "Memorial" and the "Minutes" of the Permanent Committee of the New York Convention of the Friends of Domestic Industry, 1833, of which he was secretary; and a collection of calling cards and envelopes.

Finally, there is a portfolio of commissions, diplomas, honorary appointments, and other official papers providing at least an indication of the degree of recognition accorded Kennedy by his

contemporaries. Here are his honorary doctorate from Harvard; his certificate as a Chevalier of the Ordre Impérial de la Légion d'Honneur; and membership certificates of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and numerous other institutions and organizations.

Even a superficial inspection of the John Pendleton Kennedy collection will afford a speaking acquaintanceship with 19th century Baltimore, some knowledge of the state of Southern literature (of which Kennedy was a kind of elder patron, critic, and court of appeals), and a fair understanding of the political questions of moment from the misnamed Era of Good Feelings to the Reconstruction Period. And stepping back to view the entire collection, one considers with a certain wonder the man who raised such a methodical monument for posterity. Plagued by recurring ill health and the lack of a driving energy and intensity, he is the more to be admired.

Yet one sees throughout the letters, the journals, the manuscript scraps of essays and tales never completed, a dissipation of effort on relatively unimportant matters. Board meetings, secretaryships of various local bodies, countless speeches, entertainment of anyone and everyone of any note so occupied Kennedy's time that he had little left for serious writing or for those public offices of responsibility and trust which he might so well have filled. The parallel of Kennedy and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., again, is striking and unmistakable. James Russell Lowell's statement on the death of the latter could be applied to both: "He is a very great loss in every way—a loss to the world no less than to his country and friends. . . . He never had the public career he should have had, both for his own sake and ours. . . ." [9]

Indeed, no one realized more strongly the wasting effect of trivialities upon his powers than did Kennedy himself. In a letter to William Gilmore Simms, he writes:

> I greet all your letters with a most earnest welcome, and always with a little envy at the proof they give me of your industry. You work, whilst I only talk of it. I have a hundred projects only—to set off against your hundred performances. Every mail almost—often enough to say *every*—

[9] Letter to John W. Field, January 17, 1882, quoted in *Letters of James Russsell Lowell,* edited by C. E. Norton (Boston, 1904), III, 97.

brings me something of yours done. My time is absorbed, *wasted,* with the little villainous shuffles of the business of the day—letters—an occasional rail road report—an *infernal* lecture, now and then, and dribblets of occupation which leaves me no time to write *what I have in hand.* I spend five or six hours a day in my library—I have hardly an hour a day to read print. I have no wordly [worldly?] affairs—meaning nothing out of doors, and nothing what, on Change, they would call business—to draw me out of my vocation—and yet under all these conditions, I do nothing worth keeping or showing.[10]

But even though Kennedy was a man of unrealized potentialities, this very preoccupation with trivia resulted in an almost unrivalled picture of day to day life during a half century of American history in the making. In fact, age has given to Kennedy's trivia a patina of value as elements of social, political, and literary history. The Kennedy collection would deserve attention if it were made up exclusively of ephemeral details. This limning of the commonplace—the most difficult of historical materials to find—is the method of Boswell and Lockhart. The basis is here for a superlative biography of a distinguished Marylander or for the many historical studies yet to be made of the Middle States during the last century.

[10] Letter of February 29, 1852, in "Letters, December 22, 1851, to May 19, 1853," pp. 106-7.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS IN MARYLAND, 1900–1950

By LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

IN the first half of the 20th century thirty-one foreign visitors to Maryland wrote books about their trips to the United States and included in them material on Maryland. Nearly all were attracted to Maryland by some aspect of Baltimore, and only three failed to visit (or at least to record a visit) to the metropolis. Indeed, it seems that none of them crossed to the western side of the Baltimore-Washington highway; and thus the total result of their narratives falls far short of giving a full and fair picture of the state. Nevertheless, what they have to say is significant as evidence of what foreigners think about Maryland.

The colorful life of Baltimore, the history, educational institutions, and society of a great city, have provided ample material for travel writers. Scholars such as Konen, Lotsy, and Pfister found in Johns Hopkins an institution comparable to the great European universities, and laymen such as Iorga and Aguerri were equally sensitive to the significance of Hopkins in the world of scholarship. The U. S. Naval Academy has attracted more foreign visitors to Annapolis than any other aspect of that community, but it has made no such enduring impression on educated foreign travellers as Hopkins. The literary life of Baltimore has also claimed the attention of foreign visitors. Piazza, Pasquier, and Vianzone make pious references to Poe and even pilgrimages to places associated with his life, and Roda Roda takes cognizance of the importance of H. L. Mencken as a major literary figure.

The religious life of the city, specifically, the Roman Catholic Church and its affiliated institutions, has been a major point of interest for two European clergymen, Father Weiser and Father Klein; and devout laymen such as Konen and Vianzone have reported interviews with Cardinal Gibbons that may well prove

to be valuable sources for a biography of this outstanding prelate. Baltimore's colorful history has received less attention than one might normally expect, and Europeans are likely to be more interested in isolated stories such as that of Jerome Bonaparte than in Baltimore's significant rôle in American political and economic history. Foreign travellers in the South have a general tendency to be especially critical of the race problem, but in the border states this is a matter of little concern. Only Pasquier gives any attention to the position of the Negro in Baltimore.

Two extremes in the life of Baltimore have received attention from foreigners that is not likely from Americans writing about their own country. The Swedish sailor Nils Frederikson has furnished an account of the waterfront dives from the viewpoint of the seafearing man on shore leave, and Stephan Berghoff and Arthur Heye, the German hoboes, have described " skid row " and the jungle. On the other hand, Térèse Vianzone associated exclusively with the upper echelons of Baltimore society and has recorded interesting details from the life of this element of the city's population.

In each decade of the 20th century except that of World War I there has been a fairly constant stream of foreign authors who have discussed Maryland in their books: five between 1900 and 1910, two between 1910 and 1920, nine between 1920 and 1930, nine between 1930 and 1940, and six between 1940 and 1950. A third, eleven to be exact, have been Germans, German Swiss, and Austrians; four Frenchmen and Belgians; four writers whose native language is Spanish (one Nicaraguan, one Argentine, and two Puerto Ricans) ; three Brazilians; three Swedes; two Dutchmen; two Danes; one Roumanian; and one Italian.

This study has been part of a larger project relative to travel in the southern and border states. Over 3,000 foreign-language travel books on North America have been examined, and it has been found that some 400 titles describe the states south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio. Every effort has been made to make the bibliography comprehensive; and not only all national bibliographies but also the subject catalogs of the largest American libraries have been searched carefully. Nevertheless, it is a calculated risk of the bibliographer that he is likely to miss some important title in a study of this sort. He can only hope that any

omissions will be caught and entered as a supplement to the list for 1950-2000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguerri, Josefa Toledo de. *Al correr de la pluma; crónicas de viaje, escritas para "Revista feminina ilustrada" (de agosta a dicimebre de 1920) desde Costa Rica y Estados Unidos de América, pasando por Panamá y La Habana.* Managua, Tipografía y encuadernación nacional, 1924. 332 pp. Date: Letter from Baltimore is dated April 2, 1920. On pp. 149-157 Sra. de Aguerri comments most favorably on the educational institutions (higher and secondary) of Baltimore and the superior civic virtues of the citizens.

Berghoff, Stephan. *Joes Abenteuer im wilden Westen.* Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder & Co., 1934. 200 pp. Date: Early 1930's. Stranded in Baltimore (p. 158 *et seq.*), the adventurous hero is unable to get a job on a boat going back to Germany. He is involved in a particularly gory tavern brawl, works in a bar, and gets a job on an oyster boat. The story of his experiences on the Chesapeake oyster boat is amusing and realistic. After some further tribulations in Baltimore's waterfront district, Joe ships on a vessel headed back to Germany.

Caneppa, Victorio. *Relatorio sobre os estabelecimentos penaes dos Estados Unidos da America do Norte.* Rio de Janeiro, Imprimiu "ASA," Artes gráficas, 1946. 85 pp. Date: Late 1945, early 1946. Caneppa, a Brazilian penal official, was a guest of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and visited many prisons, both state and federal. He visited the Maryland State Penitentiary in Baltimore (pp. 30-31), the House of Correction and Women's Reformatory at Jessups (pp. 31-33), and the Maryland State Reformatory near Baltimore (p. 34). His report is objective but unimaginative.

Cecchi, Emilio. *America amara.* Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1940. 2nd edition. 407 pp. Date: Sometime in 1930s. Pp. 193-250 of this book deal with the South (Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina), but not in the strict order of Cecchi's intinerary. Cecchi, obviously writing for a fascist public, picks faults wherever he can find them, but he is much kinder to the South than to the rest of the nation. He gives a brief account of Annapolis and the U. S. Naval Academy. Baltimore receives more attention, with a good deal of material on Edgar Allan Poe (inspired by a visit to his grave) and some eyebrow-raising comments on a burlesque show (which he probably enjoyed thoroughly).

Cochart, Emmanuel J. *Ah! si vous alliez aux États-Unis.* Nancy, Editions de l'Union économique de l'est, 1930. 301 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 227-229 there is a description of Annapolis. Whenever Cochart sees anything good in America, he admits it grudgingly.

Frederikson, Nils. *Reise ohne Ende, ein Seemannsleben.* Zürich, Albert Müller Verlag A.-G., n. d. 288 pp. Date: 1932. On p. 280 there is a

sailor's-eye-view of Baltimore, mostly from the interior of waterfront dives. The Swedish original, entitled *Resa utan ende,* has not been located in an American library.

Gislén, Torsten. *Från Hawaiis stränder till New-Yorks skyskrapor: minnen från en naturvetenskaplig forskningsfärd.* Stockholm, Saxon & Lindströms förlag, 1935. 199 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. At the end of his book Gislén describes his biological expeditions into areas of Virginia and Maryland in the vicinity of Washington, D. C. He gives special attention to the fauna of the region.

Guimarães, Celso. *Um sonho!* Rio de Janeiro, Editora civilização brasileira, 1947. 292 pp. Date: Late spring 1945. On p. 237 *et seq.* Guimarães gives brief accounts of Baltimore and Annapolis, emphasizing the physical aspects rather than the people and institutions of these communities.

Hanström, Bertil. *Skisser från en Kaliforniafärd.* Lund, C. W. K. Gleerups förlag, 1922. 143 pp. Date: January 1922. "Två dagar i det rykande Baltimore" (pp. 17-24) is the title of a chapter dealing mainly with the topography and buildings of the city but also going into some historical detail, mainly on Francis Scott Key, Fort McHenry, and Jerome Bonaparte.

Heckmann, Johannes. *In Nord-Amerika und Asien, 1902-1903; Reise-Eindrücke.* Bonn, R. Schade, n. d. 230 pp. Late fall 1902. On p. 9 Heckmann describes the Baltimore Copper Smelting and Rolling Works on the basis of a short visit to the plant.

Heye, Arthur. *In Freiheit dressiert.* Zürich, Albert Müller Verlag A.-G., 1940. 2nd edition. 159 pp. Date: Probably shortly before the World War I. This is the narrative of the adventures of a German hobo in the United States in the early part of the century. There is a note on Baltimore's hobo jungle and skid row on p. 55. Heye's *Wanderer ohne Ziel; von abenteuerlichem Zwei- und Vierbein* (Berlin, Safari-Verlag, 1925; 204 pp.) describes the same trip, with notes on hiring halls and saloons in Baltimore on pp. 45-52.

Hoppé, Emil Otto. *Die Vereinigten Staaten; das romantische Amerika, Baukunst, Landschaft und Volksleben.* Berlin, Atlantis-Verlag, 1930. 304 pp. Date: 1927 (?). This is a collection of 304 photographs of the United States by a master photographer whose work surpassed anything of a similar character done in this country before the days of the WPA. On p. 300 there is a photograph of a Baltimore scene.

Iorga, Nicolae. *America şi Românii din America: note de drum şi conferinte.* Vălenii-de-Munte, Aşezământul tipografic "Datina românească," 1930. 238 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 148-149 there is a description of Baltimore with special attention to architecture, Johns Hopkins University, and the art treasures in the city.

Klein, Félix. *Au pays de "La vie intense."* Paris, Librairie Plon, 1905. 7th edition. 386 p. Date: 1904. Klein, a French clergyman who came to the United States to see the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, has also given an unusually detailed and accurate account of the state of Roman

Catholicism in St. Louis and Baltimore. He spent three days in Baltimore (pp. 297-311), where he found the church solidly entrenched, with excellent parochial schools and prosperous religious houses. He also has a brief complimentary word for Johns Hopkins University.

Konen, Heinrich Mathias. *Reisebilder von einer Studienreise durch Sternwarten und Laboratorien der Vereinigten Staaten.* Cologne, Kommissionsverlag und Druck von J. P. Bachem, 1912. 114 pp. Date: Probably 1911. Konen, a German astronomer who visited observatories all over the United States, describes his visit to Washington and Baltimore on pp. 97-105. He is interested in Baltimore principally as the seat of the American primate (Cardinal Gibbons) and the laboratory of H. A. Rowland at Hopkins, which he describes in some detail.

Losty, Johannes Paulus. *Van den Atlantischen Oceaan naar de stille Zuidzee in 1922; Dagboek van een Botanicus, die niet alleen naar planten keek.* 's-Gravenhage, G. Naeff, 1923. 491 pp. Date: 1922. Chapter VI, "Baltimore" (pp. 47-57), contains reports of some botanizing near Havre de Grace, Holly Oak, and an unidentified Baltimore country club. Much more interesting are his reports on his fraternization with professors at Hopkins, an institution for which he has the highest esteem.

Mees, Walter. *Stars en Stripes en Maple Leaves: Leben en Streven in Amerika en Canada.* Amsterdam, Scheltens & Giltay, 1946. 294 pp. Date: 1945 (?). On pp. 83-85 there are rather pedantic historical, topographical, and economic notes on Baltimore.

Moeschlin, Felix. *Amerika vom Auto aus; 20,000 Km. U. S. A.* Erlenbach-Zürich, Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1930. 188 pp. Date: Summer 1929. On pp. 43-46 there are a few impressions of Baltimore, highway scenes en route to Washington, and the District of Columbia and environs.

Neumann Gandía, Eduardo. *Impresiones de viaje por Norte América.* New York, Imprenta de F. J. Dassori, 1910. Date: Probably 1908. This is a pretentious but pedestrian work by a rich Puerto Rican. Baltimore (pp. 701-704) is described as "la reina del comercio del sur," and there are notes on several of her more important sights and monuments.

Nielsen, Roger. *Amerika i Billeder og Text.* Copenhagen, Aschehoug, 1929. 319 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. This work by a press attaché at the Danish Legation in Washington is one of the most important travel books on 20th century America. Marshalling an impressive amount of geographical, historical, political, ethnological, sociological, economic, commercial, educational, and agricultural information, he has matched his data with typical photographs from each state. Maryland and Virginia are described in the group of states extending northward along the Atlantic seaboard to Canada.

Pagán, Rafael J. *Va Usted para los Estados Unidos? (Guía para el puertorriqueño.)* San Juan de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico Adjustment Bureau, 1944. 186 pp. Date: Based on Pagán's own experiences sometimes between 1942 and 1944. On pp. 74-76 there is an account of Baltimore, with special attention to streets, residences, factories, and docks.

Pasquier, Alex. *Amérique 1944.* Brussels, Éditions de l'étoile, 1945.

312 pp. Date: 1937/1938. Chapter XVII, "Une grande figure: Edgar Poe" (pp. 141-152) is a brief review of Poe's life and work, with notes on localities in Baltimore connected with Poe, especially the Church Home and Infirmary. Pasquier prints the texts of two letters of Stéphane Mallarmé relative to Poe. Chapter IV, "Le point noir" (pp. 58-63), describes the Negro as Pasquier observed him in Washington and Baltimore. Pasquier gives the history of segregation and emphasizes the grave consequences if a solution is not reached soon. Pasquier's *Arc en ciel sur l'Amérique* (Brussels, Les éditions de Belgique, 1937; 199 pp.) is identical with *Amérique 1944* except that a section on the United States in wartime has been added to the latter.

Pfister, Albrecht. *Nach Amerika im Dienste Friedrich Schillers; der Völkerfreundschaft gewidmet.* Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1906. 170 pp. Date: April, 1904. Pfister came to America to participate in the various commemorative exercises at the time of the centennial of Schiller's death. On pp. 40-47 he describes the activities at Hopkins on April 29, 1904, and there are several interesting references to the Germanophile attitudes of the Hopkins faculty and the German population of Baltimore.

Piazza, Lorenzo. *Nell 'America del Nord per l'esposizione di Chicago.* Lentini, Tip. F. Cicirata, 1934. 333 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 72-73 there are a few notes on Baltimore, mainly historical material on the beginnings of the B. and O., Hopkins, and Poe.

Prossinagg, Ernst. *Das Antlitz Amerikas: drei Jahre diplomatischer Mission in den U. S. A.* Zürich, Amalthea-Verlag, 1931. 282 pp. Date: 1926-1928. The author, an Austrian diplomat sent to help settle American claims against Austria, travelled widely in Virginia and Maryland. Baltimore (pp. 137-141) he considers "eine der wenigen Aristokratinnen unter den Städten Amerikas"; and he reports his impressions of the city as a border metropolis (yet fundamentally Southern in spirit), progressive in business and with a vigorous cultural life. His account of Annapolis (pp. 141-142) emphasizes the U. S. Naval Academy and the fishing industry.

Repetto, Nicolas. *Impresiones de los Estados Unidos.* Buenos Aires, Librería y editorial "La vanguardia," 1943. 253 pp. Date: Spring and summer 1943. Repetto was one of the many Latin American journalists brought to this country during the last war at the expense of the State Department. On pp. 23-25 he describes his visit to the Department of Agriculture's experiment station at Beltsville, giving a short synopsis of the program of this agency.

Roda Roda, Alexander. *Ein Frühling in Amerika.* Munich, Gunther Langes, 1924. 173 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. On pp. 121-125 there is an account of the national origins of the various elements of Baltimore's population, a note on the numerous historical monuments in the city (especially the Church of Zion founded in 1755), and a critique of H. L. Mencken.

Verissimo, Erico. *Gato preto em campo de neve.* Porto Alegre, Edição da Livraria do globo, 1941. 420 pp. Date: Probably 1941. Baltimore

(pp. 96-104) impresses Verissimo with Hopkins, Goucher, and the Peabody Institute; but he is considerably less inspired by his visit to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Vianzone, Thérèse. *Impressions d'une française en Amérique* (*États-Unis et Canada*). Paris, Librairie Plon, 1906. 377 pp. Date: 1905 (?). This rather superficial French aristocrat flits in and out of New York, Washington, and Baltimore society throughout the book. On pp. 47-49 she reports a visit in Baltimore with Cardinal Gibbons, for whom she has only the highest words of praise. Her hosts in Baltimore, the Lawrence Turnbulls, introduce her to the Bonapartes and tell her their history (pp. 143-147). On pp. 147-148 she reports a brief visit to Hopkins (whose endowment impresses her more than its scholarship), Poe's tomb (p. 149), and the Walters Gallery (p. 150).

Weiser, Franz Xavier. *Im Lande des Sternenbanners*. Regensburg, Druck und Verlag von Josef Habbel, 1933. 114 pp. Date: Probably shortly before publication. Father Weiser's trip was undertaken mainly for the purpose of inspecting Catholic institutions in the United States. On pp. 98-102 he describes his sojourn in Baltimore, where he stayed at the Mercy Hospital. There are also a few notes on the history of the city.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Port of Baltimore in the Making, 1828 to 1878. By T. COURTENAY J. WHEDBEE. Baltimore: 1953. 100 pp.

A Baltimore lumber concern, F. Bowie Smith & Son, Inc., celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, has published an undergraduate paper written during the author's senior year at Princeton in 1941. While it is not a definitive study, it is the best analysis available of the growth of the port of Baltimore. Future studies, and they are greatly needed, will merely follow the lines cast forth in this admirable essay.

Tracing factors suggested by historian Jared Sparks in 1825, the author sees the ante-bellum growth of Baltimore based upon: geographical location, especially her nearness to the West; the famous Baltimore clipper ships; the prosperous trade with the Caribbean and South America, particularly Brazil; the export staples of tobacco and world-famous Baltimore flour, and finally the enterprising spirit of her merchants, who, like the Connecticut Yankees who built New York's trade, were not generally native sons.

Though her expansion and prosperity was great, Baltimore was definitely overshadowed by the port of New York whose merchants dominated every channel of trade they engaged in during this period. The failure to establish permanent steamer connections with Europe was the great lack of the Chesapeake port—a lack that was remedied after the Civil War.

The better portion of this study concerns itself with the antebellum period. One chapter analyzes the disruption of Baltimore's commerce wrought by the Civil War, and the last chapter discusses readjustment after the war. The basic factor in the post-war growth of the port was the freight rate differential to the West resulting in part from the extension of railroad connections deeper into the hinterlands. The development of port facilities at Locust Point and Canton, the growing links with Europe which helped to make Baltimore a great ocean port, and finally in the 1880s the development of a tidewater steel plant at Sparrows Point—a brief analysis of these factors, contributing to Baltimore's modern development, round out the essay.

F. Bowie Smith & Son, Inc. is to be commended for bringing this valuable study before the public. It is to be hoped that other business concerns will follow their worthwhile example.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Rhode Island

Calendar of Maryland State Papers, Number 4, Part 2, The Red Books. (Publication of The Hall of Records Commission, No. 8.) Annapolis: 1953. x, 331 pp. $3.

This volume, the second of three projected for the *Calendar of the Red Book* series, contains 1,787 entries describing letters, documents, and selected printed works, including the *Archives of Maryland*, housed in the Hall of Records. These materials spread over the period 1766 to 1822, although the great majority fall into the years 1776 and 1777. Each item is calendared chronologically, is described in from two to twenty or more lines, and is given a source reference. A finding list and a name-index complete the work.

Since the entries refer predominantly to military affairs and personnel reports, the volume under review is a cornucopia for genealogists and local historians. What is not so apparent, but none the less true, is that it is of considerable value to historians of wider interests. Despite their military character, many of the documents afford information bearing on social, economic, or political matters. To cite but two: A report to the Maryland Convention by the Committee on Manufactory of Arms reveals that as of August 2, 1775, twelve gunsmiths were available in the state to produce arms. An address to the governor by the Council of Safety, dated August 29, 1775, asserts that independence is not "the Aim or wish of the people of this Province." Thus there can be no question of the general worth of the calendar series. The Hall of Records Commission is to be commended for authorizing its publication, and the editors, especially, are to be complimented for the comprehensive nature of the entries and the exactness of their scholarship.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

University of Connecticut

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By AVERY O. CRAVEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 433 pp. $6.50.

This volume is the sixth in the *History of the South* series. Primarily political in nature, it attempts to clarify and explain the tangled thinking and the emotional strife of that tragic era between the close of the Mexican War and the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. The author describes his work as the story of the development of the sectional quarrel as seen through the evolution of Southern attitudes towards national events. As such, he has succeeded admirably in his effort to explain how our nation became involved in a bitter civil war. His conclusion is that the war was inevitable because of the tragic manner in which the democratic processes of government were allowed to break down.

Craven maintains that the primary cause of the difficulties of the '50's was the slavery question. This so completely colored men's thought that it profoundly affected the relations between the states and became the

symbol of all the differences between the North and the South. A break could have been avoided, according to the author, had each side agreed to a compromise. Neither would yield, however, because "slavery had come to symbolize values in each of their social-economic structures for which men fight and die but which they do not give up or compromise."

Like its companion volumes, this one maintains a high standard of objective and unbiased scholarship. Of value are the two chapters entitled "Some Generalizations," and "Critical Essay on Authorities." One wishes, however, that the author had devoted more space to a discussion of social and economic problems. Marylanders, moreover, will note the absence of any serious consideration of the role played by their state in the pattern of Southern history during this era. Furthermore, he has drawn no comparisons with the world of 1953, but it is fairly easy to discern the similarities with the problems of 1848 to 1861. The prospect is frightening.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

The American Diaries of Richard Cobden. Edited by ELIZABETH H. CAWLEY. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xii, 233 pp. $4.

This volume is an important addition to the travel accounts of Europeans in America during the generation before the Civil War. Its very favorable estimate of the customs and the culture of Americans is in marked contrast to that of well-known critics of the period such as Basil Hall, Frances Trollope, Fanny Kemble, and Charles Dickens. Richard Cobden wrote his brother near the end of his first trip (July 5, 1835): "My estimate of American character has improved, contrary to my expectations, by this visit. . . . I find myself in love with their intelligence, their sincerity, and the decorous self-respect that actuates all classes;" and after his second trip in 1859 he declared "that nobody who has not twice visited the States can comprehend the vitality, force & velocity of progress of that people, & their inborn aptitude for self-government" (Dec. 4, 1861).

Cobden had many interesting comments on Maryland. He was well-impressed with Baltimore on his first trip: "Approach to Baltimore rivals the bay of New York—the city with its cupolas spires & Monuments & its amphitheatrical situation with background of hills looks well—like an European Town. . . . Baltimore is the handsomest place I have yet seen—here are the finest monuments—the prettiest girls and the cleanest City in the Union. . . . Baltimore is the first of the Southern Cities" (June 11, 1835). After a trip to Washington he was not impressed with the road to Frederick: "the road all the way from Washington to Frederick is execrable & the dexterity with which the drivers carry a coach & four horses over roads that for ruggedness & occasional steepness surpass our Derbyshire cross-roads would be enough to make our English jehus marvel could they behold it." He went west over "the famous national turnpike," and as

he crossed the summit of the Alleghanies and faced west he wrote: "here will one day be the head quarters of agricultural & manufacturing industry[.] Here will one day center the civilization, the wealth, the power of the entire world." He could not restrain his strong anti-slavery sentiments when he arrived at Brownsville an June 15: "We are now in the State of Pennsª. Thank God I am no longer in the country of slaves."

On his second trip in 1859 he came as the famous Liberal party statesman and was received by the leading citizens wherever he went. His comments on public men are very interesting and enlightening. The immediate object of this trip was to investigate the affairs of the Illinois Central Railroad for English stockholders. In Springfield he met one of the lawyers of the railroad, Abraham Lincoln, but was not sufficiently impressed to mention it in his diary! (We first learn of the meeting in a letter to John Bright in March, 1861.) On both trips Cobden showed a keen discernment and judgment in discussing our social customs, our industry and agriculture, and our educational practices.

The long "Introduction" by Mrs. Cawley is particularly valuable in giving the background for the diaries. A wealth of further information on Cobden's views of America and of particular Americans (especially of Lincoln during the Civil War) is supplied from his letters, most of which are copied from the Cobden Papers in the British Museum.

JAMES B. RANCK

Hood College

Schuyler Colfax, The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol. By WILLARD H. SMITH. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1952. xiv, 475 pp.

Editor of an Indiana Whig newspaper, liberal reformer, and strong supporter of Henry Clay, Schuyler Colfax was a prominent politician of Indiana prior to the Civil War. He joined the Republican Party when it was formed and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1855 where he served continuously until 1869, from 1863-1869 as Speaker. From 1869 to 1873 he was Vice-President under Grant. He was later involved in the Crédit Mobilier scandal, and it is in this connection that his name is often remembered.

Smith's study shows the political service Colfax rendered during his Congressional career and the human side of the man. The picture is one of a loyal partisan of the Republican party, too often suffering from the passions, prejudices, and weaknesses of Civil War and Reconstruction politicians, but withal his shortcomings a well-meaning man interested in social and political Justice. Smith's study is a valuable contribution to the lesser, but nevertheless important, political figures of the Reconstruction period, and is written without the strong black or white coloring which typifies so many of the biographies about men of this period.

F. C. H.

Fleur de Lys and Calumet. Edited by R. G. McWILLIAMS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xxviii, 282 pp. $4.

This well-written, well-presented book is offered as the "first complete edition in English" of the famous "Pénicaut" story, an account of a journey to Louisiana written by a French ship-wright toward the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. The translator expresses surprise that the narrative has never previously appeared as a book, and that no complete translation has been available. He has "translated and edited this edition . . . from microfilm reproductions of three contemporary manuscripts and of a transcription of a fourth." Already extant, and cited in the footnotes, are a complete edition in French by Pierre Margry[1] and a translation into English of a large part of the text by B. F. French.[2] It appears to this reviewer that the audience is only slightly enlarged by the appearance of *Fleur de Lys and Calumet.*

If this book had revealed results of an exhaustive study of the four manuscripts used, it would have been quite valuable, but such is not the case. The editor has "not been able to locate the autograph manuscript;" in fact he has no suggestions as to the relation between the variants or as to the likelihood that one of them is the holographic text. There is considerable evidence of inexperience in the extended comments on differences in spelling, especially in proper names, something which the experienced paleographer takes as a matter of course. There is no explanation of why the fourth manuscript was not used—he was not "able to examine it." This does not show why a microfilm of a transcription was obtained from the Newberry Library in Chicago instead of a microfilm of the original manuscript in Rouen.

Problems concerning the identity of the author would have been reduced if the editor had known and used the extensive published work of Professor G. Debien, especially two recent volumes on indentured and contract workers who went to the West Indies from France.[3]

His attempt to withhold "every impulse to improve on the carpenter's prose style" has also brought some confusion. The original French gives the day of arrival in Louisiana as the "jour des Rois" which is customarily rendered in English as Epiphany or Twelfth Night. Professor McWilliams translates it literally as "Kings' Day" which means nothing in English and requires a footnote which could have been omitted in an intelligible translation. There are at least two errors due to lack of familiarity with French practice. A footnote[4] gives "St Thomas' Day" as either Dec. 21 or Dec. 29, depending on whether it refers to St. Thomas

[1] *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans le Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* V (Paris 1883), pp. 376-586.

[2] *Historical collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York, 1869), pp. 33-162.

[3] *Le peuplement des Antilles françaises au XVII^e siècle: les engagés partis de La Rochelle, 1683-1715* (Presses de l'Institut Français du Caire), Cairo, 1942; and *La société coloniale aux XVII^e siècle: les engagés pour les Antilles, 1634-1715,* in *Revue d'histoire des colonies,* XXXVIII (1951), pp. 1-277.

[4] P. 2, note 8.

the Apostle or St. Thomas à Becket. It is without doubt the first of these, for while the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle is Dec. 21 everywhere, the Feast of St. Thomas à Becket was celebrated in France on July 7. In Rome it was celebrated on Dec. 29, hence the confusion.[5] Another error, more obvious, occurs in connection with the closing passage, a quotation from the Psalms, given in French and then in Latin, with the reference, which the editor has read inaccurately as "Ps. 70." There would have been neither inaccuracy nor confusion if the editor had remembered that Pénicaut used the Vulgate or a French translation of it instead of the King James version of the Bible.

Finally, in view of the "extraordinary assistance" which Professor McWilliams received from the chief of the Photographic service of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, it is a pity that he has thanked a nonexistant "Monsieur M. Chabrier" instead of the distinguished assistant director of that library, a member of its staff for over twenty-five years, *Mademoiselle* M. Chabrier!

One cannot help wondering why, in this day of expense and difficulty of publication of scholarly works, so much time, effort, money, and paper have been devoted to a book, however entertaining, which has contributed so little which is new, and that new only to those who are not specialists. Scholars in the field can read the easily accessible original French, and most scholars prefer to avoid translations.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN

A Picture History of B. & O. Motive Power. By LAWRENCE W. SAGLE. New York: Simmons-Boardman, 1952. 82 pp. $3.75.

They are all here—the experimental *Tom Thumb*, the *York* which first went into regular service, the "grasshoppers," the "camels," the "Dutch Wagons," the "muddiggers" or "crabs"—all the types of locomotives used by the B. & O. from 1830 to 1952. The illustrations are fascinating and numerous; the text is detailed, statistical, and enlightening. This volume will delight historian and railroad enthusiast alike.

The Rise and Progress of Maryland Baptists. By JOSEPH T. WATTS. [Baltimore: 1953.] 266 pp.

It may come as a surprise to many to learn that there were Baptists in Maryland when the Toleration Act of 1649 became law. Mr. Watts reviews the early history of the denomination and proceeds to give a careful account of general activities in the last century and a half. We are indebted to the author and the Maryland Baptist Union Association for a useful volume.

[5] Bénédictins de Sain-Maur, *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, I (Paris, 1770), p. 167.

American Gun Makers. By ARCADI GLUCKMAN and L. D. SATTERLEE, Harrisburg: Stockpole Co., 1953. 243 pp. $6.

Colonel Gluckman, recognized authority on early American arms, has here revised and materially enlarged an earlier published work. Although in the foreword he apologizes for errors of omission and commission, it is evident that long and careful research went into the preparation of this edition. It should prove to be a substantial contribution to reference material and early Americana.

Entries are listed alphabetically by name or firm. There is no index to guide one to all Maryland gun makers, for instance, but a perusal of the book is an agreeable task.

The First Thirty-Five Annual Reports [of the] Baltimore City Health Department, 1815-1849. Baltimore: 1953.

The Commissioner of Health has performed a service alike to historians and to the medical profession in reproducing and in making generally accessible in this handsome volume the early reports of the City Health Department. Several illustrations and a bibliography have been included.

The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607-1907. By JOHN ROBINSON and GEORGE F. DOW. Westminster: J. William Eckenrode, 1953. 66 pp. and 308 plates. $12.50.

This is the first of three volumes, issued nearly a generation ago, projected for reprinting by Mr. Eckenrode, who thus makes available again a splendid series of pictures of New England sailing ships. Two plates will illustrate the range of this volume. Plate 24 from an oil painting made about 1748, the earliest known painting of a New England ship, shows the *Bethell* of Boston in two positions on one canvass. Plate 275, a photograph of the *Siren*, a three-master from Salem, catches the last detail of rigging. Between are illustrations drawn from a variety of media—photographs of later vessels, oil and water paintings of many early ones, log-book sketches, broadside drawings, and punch bowl decorations representing a few others. Prefacing the 308 plates is a 60-page introduction to riggings, nautical instruments, and ship fittings, which serves at once as explanations of the illustrations and as an introduction to sailing-ship lore for the uninitiated. The reproduction is excellent and the binding a work of beauty.

AUBREY C. LAND

Vanderbilt University

NOTES AND QUERIES

Mill Point, Formerly in St. Mary's Co.—Does anyone know where the house "Mill Point" is now located? Is it now in Charles Co.? The editors will appreciate information about this house.

Ligon Family—Mr. William D. Ligon, Jr., 17 East 70th St., New York 21, and Shipman, Va., has generously presented copies of the *Proceedings of The Ligon Family and Kinsmen Association*, of which two numbers, dated Oct., 1937, and Sept., 1939, have been printed. Among many interesting items is an address before the Association by the Hon. George L. Radcliffe (II, 15-20) in 1938.

Mr. Ligon can supply copies of *The Ligon Family and Connections* (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVIII [Mar., 1953], 81) for $23 postpaid.

Gott—Need information re parents of Richard Gott, b. Balto. Co., died Falls Church, Va., 1879. His father was Edmund or Edward Gott who had a sister named Maria, who married Philip Lipscomb.

JOHN K. GOTT,
Marshall, Virginia

Lake—About 1754 John, William, and Vincent Lake came to Fauquier Co., Va., from St. Mary's or Dorchester Co. John m. Susanna Savaul before coming to Va. Data on parents of either will be appreciated.

JOHN K. GOTT,
Marshall, Virginia

Pierpoint—Need further information about Larkin Pierpoint, Jr., b. Sept. 24, 1726, in Patuxent Hundred, Prince George's Co., who was in Augusta Co., Va., militia, 1758. His father, Larkin Pierpoint, Sr., was b. in Ann Arundel Co., Feb. 12, 1703/4, son of John Pierpoint and Mahitabel, dau. of John Larkin and widow of Otho Holland; moved with his mother and half-brother James Holland to Prince George's Co. in 1719, m. 1st Charity Duckett in 1725, by whom he had Larkin, Jr., and married 2nd Sarah Simmons in 1730, by whom he had Jonathan, in 1732; moved to *now* Montgomery Co. in 1746, and appears in the Frederick Co.

INDEX TO VOLUME XLVIII

Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in CAPITALS. Titles of books reviewed or cited are in italics.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for December. 1951.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Fred Shelley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1, Md. Editor, Fred Shelley, same. Managing Editor, same. Business Manager, James W. Foster, same.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1
(non-profit cultural, educational and historical institution)
George L. Radcliffe, President.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security stockholders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, held stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

FRED SHELLEY,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1953.

WALTER M. WILHIDE,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires May 2, 1955.) [SEAL]